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KINGDOM OF GOD SERIES

Edited by **HENRY H. MEYER**

APOSTLES, FATHERS, AND REFORMERS

BY
JOHN BAYNE ASCHAM



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INTRODUCTION

THE GROWTH OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

Too often in human history the sharp contrast between actual conditions and the higher demands of the Christian ideal has discouraged those upon whom rested the responsibility for making that ideal real. A short-range view of life has obscured the actual growth of the Kingdom which the larger perspective of history reveals. In the face of the overwhelming preponderance of sin and selfishness in the world the Christian Church has again and again contented itself with snatching as many brands as possible from the burning, without, at the same time, seeking to organize the constructive forces of life and of society for the seemingly impossible task of putting out the conflagration. Thus the actual process of the Kingdom's coming among men has proceeded for the most part "without observation," like the first growth of the seed that has been buried in the soil.

It is possible to-day, in the light of the completed records of the Old and New Testaments and the subsequent history of the Christian centuries, to discover definite stages of advance with successive landmarks of progress in the gradual establishment of the reign of God in individual lives and in the institutions of mankind. Such a survey of progress already achieved should hearten the organized Christian forces in their forward look and their endeavor to establish still more firmly among men the principles and ideals of the Kingdom. It should encourage the individual to redouble his efforts and inspire in him an unfaltering confidence in the ultimate realization and triumph of God's rule. Herein lies the purpose of the special course of study in the development of the kingdom of God in which this volume constitutes one textbook.

INTRODUCTION

Beginning with a brief consideration of the fundamentals of religion and the nature of man and of Deity, the studies trace the development of religious experience and ideas among the Hebrews and the Jewish people down to the beginning of the Christian era. This early period, covering the development of the Kingdom in Old Testament times, is presented in two volumes of twenty-six study chapters each, the division being made at the point in the historical development following the rise of eighth-century prophetism and the fall of Samaria. In similar manner two volumes are devoted to the Life and Teachings of Jesus which are assumed to be of central importance in the forward and upward movement of humanity.

Subsequent studies present in two volumes a survey of the development of the Kingdom since the time of Christ, including a discussion of those social-religious movements of the present day, the support and inspiration for which are to be found primarily in the Christian conception of God and the world. This volume presents briefly the story of the Kingdom since the time of Christ, as this has developed through the Christian centuries under the inspiring leadership of *Apostles, Fathers and Reformers*. The concluding volume of the series is entitled *The Christian Hope*, and presents in constructive form the abiding faith of the Christian fellowship in the final triumph of the kingdom of God.

It is confidently expected that these studies will serve a two-fold purpose. As elective courses for adult Bible classes interested in this vital and most fascinating of all studies, their usefulness will be unquestioned. At the same time they are intended to meet the increasing demand for modern textbooks written in scholarly spirit but popular style for preparatory and high schools and for advanced groups in week-day religious instruction in local parishes. That they are admirably suited for either purpose will be evident from an examination of any one of the volumes in the series.

THE EDITOR.

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

THIS volume is devoted to a brief description of the chief incidents in the development of Christianity from the beginning of the church at Jerusalem to the close of the Reformation.

A true history of the kingdom of God during these centuries would not be identical with the history of the church during the same period.

"God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform."

Undoubtedly there were influences not controlled by the church making for the Christianization of the world. The church, however, has been the chief agent in the propagation of the gospel. Frequently unfaithful to its own conscience, often blind to the plain teachings of its Founder and Master, sometimes guilty of unpardonable crimes in the name of religion, the church has not advanced the cause of Christianity according either to its opportunities or its powers. Nevertheless, the church has been the chief promoter of God's kingdom in the life and affairs of men. It has been the chief institution to carry civilization onward. It filled the breach caused by the decay of the Roman Empire. It molded and guided the barbarism of the pagan invaders of the old seats of civilization and transformed them into Christian peoples. During many centuries it was the sole agency that kept alive the hope of the kingdom of God.

It is only those who know the church at its best who should exercise the privilege of pointing out its faults. The historian is well aware of the merits and the defects of the church. The Christian historian understands that the failures of the church have arisen through want of loyalty to the teachings and the Spirit of its Lord. To point out

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the errors of the church is for him only another way of calling attention to the glories of the Christ.

It is believed, then, that a clear understanding of the facts presented in this volume not only will make the student conversant with the outlines of church history of the first fifteen centuries of our era but will also clarify and strengthen his faith in the coming of God's kingdom and will better enable him to take some true part in the enthronement of Christ in the life and institutions of mankind.

DIRECTIONS FOR STUDY

READ the chapter assigned for study without stopping to examine Biblical or other references. After having obtained a general idea of the contents and purposes of the chapter reread it more carefully. Examine all references. Do not be wearied by their multiplicity. It is only by repeated use of them that the material upon which these studies are based becomes familiar. One of the objectives of this book is to put the student in touch with the source material for a study of the rise and development of the church.

Read as many as possible of the references given for reading. Examine these books. Become familiar with their appearance. Obtain a general idea of their contents. It is a fine achievement to be able to speak intelligently of informational and thought-provoking books.

Use a notebook. Make brief abstracts of your reading. Write answers to the questions for class discussion. Leave space to add such facts as may be brought out in the class hour. Writing compels a greater exactness than does an oral recitation. Learn to be exact.

Bear in mind that this study of the founders and leaders of the church is designed to do more than familiarize you with the greater facts of the Kingdom's progress: it is intended also to quicken you to become a worthier citizen of the Kingdom. At the close of each chapter is a brief devotional application. Meditate upon the ideas there offered. Whatever noble thoughts or resolves they awaken in you record in your notebook. Your spiritual progress is as important as your intellectual development.

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

THIS chapter outlines the earliest steps in the beginnings of organized Christianity. The first disciples during the public ministry of Jesus were bound together by the rare personality of Jesus; now they were held together not only by a consciousness of his invisible presence but also by a commanding sense of being participants with him in a great mission. They were his forerunners to prepare the way for his second advent to set up his kingdom in irresistible glory. Measured by their beliefs and conduct and by the great events that issued from their labors, these church-building Jews are the marvel of the ages. They are worthy of our deepest sympathetic interest in all they believed and did.

THE RISEN CHRIST

Reveals Himself to His Discouraged Disciples.—The immediate effect of the death of Jesus upon his disciples was to scatter them. This Jesus had predicted (Matthew 26. 31). He had assumed that they would return to their homes in Galilee (Mark 14. 27, 28). Whatever were the manifestations of Jesus to his disciples in Jerusalem after his resurrection, these alone were not sufficient to convince them that death had not shorn him of his majestic leadership in the bringing in of the kingdom of God. Jesus, therefore, met his discouraged and crushed followers in some of the treasured haunts in Galilee and so assured them of his regnant Messiahship that they returned to Jerusalem full of faith in the triumph of the kingdom of their love and dreams (Matthew 28. 7, 16; Mark 16. 7; John 21. 1-23).

Restores Their Confidence in Him and in Their Mission.—It is impossible to overstate the significance of the fact

that in a little while after the crucifixion of Jesus his disciples, who had fled, came together again in Jerusalem ready to proclaim that the death of Jesus had not ruined their Messianic beliefs and hopes. The death of Jesus had seemed the end of all their expectations. He seemed no longer the Redeemer of Israel (Luke 24. 21). His death, despite all Jesus had said about it, was unexpected; and whenever Jesus had spoken of rising from the dead, the disciples had not understood what he meant (Mark 9. 9, 10, 31, 32; Luke 18. 32-34). Now they are bold in proclaiming his resurrection. The rise of the church is the telling witness of our risen Lord, for it is inconceivable that the disciples would have returned to Jerusalem and begun to preach the gospel they had heard from Jesus and which they saw in his life and resurrection unless an unassailable conviction that he was alive controlled and inspired their lives.

His Abiding Presence With the Disciples.—It is important to understand what conception these first disciples waiting in Jerusalem had of Jesus, and what their relation to him was. Acts 1. 6; 2. 22-24, 32-36; 3. 20, 21 give us material for determining what was the disciples' new conception of Jesus. Jesus was to them "a man approved by God" during the years that led up to his death. Is there any hint that the disciples regarded Jesus as the Messiah until after his death and resurrection? The dominant idea they hold of Jesus after his resurrection is that he is indeed the Christ—that is, the Messiah of Jewish expectations. Since the Messianic Kingdom had not yet appeared, in what way do the disciples conceive Jesus to be related in the meanwhile to this Kingdom? See Acts 1. 11; 3. 20, 21. They do not think of Jesus as altogether enthroned in the heavens; he is also present with them, the authority for their preaching and the spiritual Comrade of their souls (Matthew 28. 18-20).

THE TASK OF THE DISCIPLES

A Summons to Witness for Jesus.—The disciples, convinced by the resurrection and ascension of Jesus that he

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was indeed the Messiah, felt themselves summoned by him to proclaim that Messiahship and the nearness of the inauguration of the Messianic Kingdom. Great emphasis was put upon the resurrection (Acts 1. 22; 2. 24, 32). The burden of this earliest preaching was that Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified, had been raised from the dead and exalted into heaven. This resurrection and exaltation are the striking proofs of his Messiahship. Examine Acts 3. 19-21 carefully. It was believed that Jesus the Messiah was to abide in heaven until the dawn of the Messianic era, when God would send him to set up the Kingdom on earth. This time of restoration these earliest disciples thought was near at hand. Repentance on the part of the Jewish world and a recognition of the crucified Jesus as the Messiah would precipitate the golden age. The prophet Joel was used to prove that the new age was at hand. The spiritual quickening of Pentecost was regarded as the fulfillment of Joel's prophecy (Joel 2. 28, 29). It is clear that Joel expected the outpouring of Jehovah's Spirit as one of the immediately preceding marks of the advent of the Messianic Kingdom. Acts 1. 11 indicates the same expectation that the advent of the Messianic age is not far removed.

A Summons to Win Jews to Belief in Messiahship of Jesus.—The disciples at this earliest date held almost the same views of the Kingdom as did their non-Christian brethren. The one difference was their belief that Jesus of Nazareth was indeed the Messiah. It became their supreme task to win a similar recognition for him from the Jewish world. Prevalent Jewish Messianism had no teaching about a suffering and dying Messiah. Therefore, in proclaiming Jesus to be the Christ the disciples sought to show that the Scriptures foretold that the Messiah must die. See Acts 3. 18; 4. 10-12, 28; 5. 30-32, 42; 8. 32-35. This is the only use made of the death of Jesus in this earliest preaching. Instead of something to be glorified and to be exalted into a primary place in a scheme of salvation, as later preaching treated the crucifixion, the death of Jesus was considered by these earliest disciples something to be explained away, a dire calamity that

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threatened belief in his Messiahship. In the first days of their grief at his death and their joy in his rising again the disciples had not come to the full consciousness either of the kingdom that Jesus actually proclaimed or of the relation that his life and death sustained to the realization of the Kingdom purposes of God.

PENTECOST

Quickened by the Spirit of God.—The significant feature of the spiritual experience of Pentecost recorded in Acts 2. 1-42 is the consciousness of the disciples that their souls have been quickened by the presence within them of the Spirit of the living God. The disciples felt themselves summoned to a heroic task. It was no slight undertaking to convince their countrymen that a crucified Nazarene had come forth from his grave to be the Messiah and to summon their brethren to acknowledge this Christhood of Jesus and, by repentant lives, make ready for the swift coming of the kingdom of God. To pursue this mission God himself must equip them. He poured forth into their lives his Spirit, until they possessed the vision and the power to proclaim their message. That is the soul of the Pentecostal experience. It was not the sound, not the light, not the ecstatic speech, which constituted Pentecost; it was the play of the eternal Soul upon the lives of these disciples, who such a little while before had fled in fear and despair, until now, in the face of those who had condemned Jesus, they are preaching that he must be acknowledged as Christ by faith, repentance, and baptism.

The Meaning of the "Tongues."—In studying Acts 2. 1-42 note precisely the external accompaniments of this outpouring of the Spirit of God. Sound like the rushing of a mighty wind; appearances of light like flames of fire upon each of the disciples; and speech, not in the customary Aramaic, but in ecstatic, ejaculatory utterances, were the outward signs of an inward miracle. In the same or similar manner this form of utterance appeared later in the church. See especially 1 Corinthians 12. 10, 28, 30; 14. 1-33. "The glossolalia in the Corinthian church oc-

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curred in the first glow of enthusiasm after conversion. It was not a speaking in foreign languages; it was an act of self-devotion, an act of thanksgiving, praying, and singing by individuals who were wholly absorbed in communion with God and gave utterance to their feelings in broken, abrupt, rhapsodic, unintelligible word." "The Pentecostal glossolalia cannot have been essentially different."¹

LIFE OF THE PRIMITIVE DISCIPLES

The First Days of the Primitive Church.—Try to form a picture of this glad springtime of the Christian Church. Read again Acts 2. 41-47; 3. 1; 4. 19, 20, 23-26. Observe all that may be inferred about the rich fellowship of these first disciples. All who accepted Jesus as the Christ were baptized. This was the first sign of a new social bond uniting Christian believers. Such converts and brethren "continued steadfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship." They ate together, prayed together, spent much of the time together. It was a genuine brotherhood that the witnesses and preachers of Christ offered to those who accepted him as Lord. This fellowship was expressed in a very profound sense of stewardship of their possessions. They no longer looked upon house, field, or the little hoard kept for the necessities of old age, as their individual property. He who had possessions and goods sold them and shared the money freely with those of his brethren who were in need. Looking to the speedy advent of Christ, their souls were free from sordid cares, and property became to them something not to be owned but to be used. As the numbers of disciples increased, many made the apostles the custodians of the funds to be administered for the common good. The first months of this new age were quickened by a rare and glowing sense that men are brothers when they are truly men.

The Growth of Religious Fellowship.—This fellowship was rooted in a quickened religious experience. It is a great thing to pray together. Note the fine fellowship ex-

¹ *History of the Christian Church*, Schaff, Volume I, pages 235-41.

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pressed in the prayer of Acts 4. 24-30. Such praying was a daily experience (Acts 2. 42). It grew out of the new fellowship and in turn drew the Christian believers into a closer bond. Together they celebrated the Supper of the Lord (Acts 2. 42, 46). Undoubtedly in those first days of high enthusiasm groups of Christians very frequently ate together, and all such common meals wore rich sanctity as they talked together, looked forward to the coming again of Jesus, and recalled the wonderful happenings of the earthly ministry of Jesus. The apostles were called upon to tell over and over all that Jesus had said and done, and many a splendid glorious hour was spent in hearing these personal witnesses repeat and enlarge this story.

The Increase in Meaning and Value of Life.—Every student must feel the thrilling heightening of life within these early-Christian circles. Life suddenly was thrust full of meaning and value. These men and women were conscious of the presence of God in their lives. They had come into a great vision: they were the sharers of a mighty destiny. Life suddenly flung open before them a door into vast untraversed realms, and they were responding to its summons with unique spiritual exaltation and joy. It was an age of unparalleled gladness. All of life revealed the same exultation. Life had come to its own in them, and they broke free from earth's customary enthralling fears. They had won for themselves a new world.

THE RELATION OF THE NEW MOVEMENT TO JUDAISM

The Messianic Hope Jewish.—Recall all that was said by Peter on the day of Pentecost, all that he said to the crowd in Solomon's Porch, all that he said to the Sanhedrin, and the words of the prayer recorded in Acts 4. 24-30, and decide whether or not the one outstanding demand of these witnesses of Jesus was that he should be recognized and acknowledged as Messiah. Keeping in mind that the Messianic hope was a Jewish hope, is it fair to say that these first Christians completely lived and thought within the boundaries of the Jewish world? In the light of Jesus' statement "Think not that I came to

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destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy, but to fulfil," what part of Judaistic religious belief and practice could these primitive Christians think was now set aside? Would the acknowledgment of Jesus as Messiah create in these men the feeling that they were at liberty to neglect any of the rites and ceremonies of Judaism? Jewish religious life at this time centered in the Temple and synagogue. Read Luke 24. 53; Acts 2. 46; 3. 1, 11; 5. 42, and state what the attitude of the early Christians toward the Temple service was. The ninth hour (3 P. M.) was the time of the evening sacrifice. While the burnt offering was being sacrificed, the Levites accompanied its presentation with instrumental music and singing. At certain pauses in their music the assembled people were summoned to prayer by two priests with silver trumpets. It is not likely that these first Christians, certainly gathered from the more devout Jews, neglected any of the ordinary Jewish rites and ceremonies. During these first days, until persecution began to alienate the Christian community from their Jewish brethren, there is every reason to believe that discipleship with Christ led his followers not to a loosening of Jewish ties but to a more devout and earnest practice of Jewish ritual and law.

The Messianic Office and Character of Jesus Emphasized.—The first Christians were Jews who had found in Jesus the long-dreamed-of Messiah. It was the Messianic office and character of Jesus which stood out in their thought of him in the first days of the church. It was only as time passed and they were thrown by the delay of his coming again more and more upon their memory of his words and deeds that they realized that his gospel had to burst its Jewish shell to live.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

The Kingdom Centers in Jesus.—These first days of the Christian Church settled once for all that the kingdom of God centers in Jesus. Within Jewish Christian circles Jesus has become the long-expected Messiah. This recognition of his Messianic office and character stamps forever

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into Christian thought the fact that all Kingdom progress is vitally related to Jesus Christ. He lives ever afterward at the heart of every advance to inaugurate in human life the kingdom of God.

Personal Religious Experience Essential.—Also, it was settled definitely that henceforth men and women with a passion for God's kingdom are uniquely conscious of God's presence in their lives. Whoever sets himself to a Kingdom task may look confidently to the quickening of his life by the living God. We may not understand this mystery, but the fact remains that men do attain a rich spiritual heightening of life which is best accounted for by believing that God has in some fashion come into more than the first creative touch with their souls.

Human Brotherhood an Actuality.—We see in these first days of the church, too, that when the inner life comes to its own, human brotherhood becomes a rich actuality. When the stress upon property was lessened, the barriers fell between individuals, and the Christian believers experienced a rare communal life. However fleeting this ideal of fraternity, it points the way for greater triumphs of Christian social solidarity.

HIGHWAYS TO THE HEART

"It Is Not for You to Know Times or Seasons."—How we covet the details of God's providence for us! Yet how little it would contribute to life to possess a blue print of the future! To anticipate a sorrow or a burden is to double its load, and to calculate the hour of a joy's arrival is to miss the pleasure of its surprise. To know the day of the distant event would end in forgetting Him who orders all our lives. It is better to trust to God's guidance each day than to seek a survey of the far-off years. No palmister can pronounce upon the progress of the soul.

"Ye Shall Receive Power."—What is the source of life's strength and joy? Is it wealth, rulership, or applause? Is it not the consciousness that life within us is not at the mercy of things without but, rather, is united to the spiritual source of the world's being—even to God? Is it hard

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to keep sweet, honest, or pure? Is your Christian experience a sad mixture of partial victory and much defeat? Do you stand at the threshold of Christian discipleship, not yet daring the great adventure? Then remember that God is power and that he is knocking at every man's door. Give him the chance to dwell in your soul.

"Ye Shall Be My Witnesses."—This is not a command but an opportunity to enter into life. It is the chance to become oneself. Only that which we can declare do we know. Many a man's ideals would flare the brighter were he to speak of them to others. Any man's Saviour would be the dearer and the greater were he to speak forth gladly what the church means to him. Every moral conviction is given power in speech. Be a personal evangelist and win a Kingdom.

"Your Old Men Shall Dream Dreams."—Do you know of any greater triumph? To come to the last years with hopes blazing like a June sunrise and soul afire with visions of Kingdom conquests is the finest of life's achievements. You who are crowned with age, cheer us with your "The best is yet to be." Keep your life open to God, and there shall be no end to the dreaming of your soul. To cease believing in a golden age makes the better day impossible. To see no waiting heaven takes the royal glow out of every day of earth.

"They Began to Speak With Other Tongues."—We always do so when God comes into our lives. We who spoke in anger now speak in love. We who used cruel words find gentle answers now. The impure now speak of purity, the vulgar know no more vulgarity, the man of lies finds truth a greater weapon, the social butterfly is no longer limited to vaudeville, cards, and dance for conversation material. The man once absorbed in business has found a livelier theme. Our common tongues never attract the crowd. When we begin to use the new tongues learned in a Spirit-filled life we have auditors.

"Not One . . . Said That . . . Which He Possessed Was His Own."—Thirtieth-century wisdom at the beginning of the Christian age! Will it take ten centuries more

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of war, competitive trade, heartless indifference to others' welfare, to learn the Christian lesson of brotherhood and stewardship? God forbid. The world is sick of ownership as the expression of man's relation to property. Field and factory are to be used, not owned; to be put at the service of mankind, not to be possessed. No man has the moral right to say that the thing which he possesses is his own. He is God's steward. Stewardship of property—wealth held in trust for all men—is fundamental to any right and peaceful adjustment of our complex and often bitter and unjust social relations. Become God's steward and in recognition of your stewardship set apart at least one tenth of your income for the propagation of the gospel of Christ.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Wherein lay the disciples' difficulty in seeing success in the death of Jesus?
2. How were they influenced by the prevalent Jewish conception of the Kingdom?
3. Show how the first weeks of the early church demonstrated that the coming Kingdom centers in Jesus.
4. In what ways did the experiences of those days contribute to the progress of the Kingdom?
5. Why is a consciousness of God's presence in the life a necessary warrant for proclaiming a passion for the Kingdom?
6. Why was the new basis of fellowship among the believers enduring?
7. Explain the circumstances which gave the communal life of the early church its impetus.
8. How far are the forms of church government developed in those days binding on the church of to-day?
9. What is the relationship between a man's religion and his material possessions?

READING REFERENCES

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The Messianic Hope of the New Testament, Matthews, pages 137-50.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN LEADERS

THE spread of Christianity throughout Judaism and into the Gentile world was a social movement of extraordinary vitality and unusual significance. This great social movement, like others, had its leaders. The present chapter is a study of the three foremost leaders of earliest Christianity.

PETER

A Leader and Spokesman.—Read again Acts, chapters 1 to 4, and observe the prominence of Peter in the events that cluster around Pentecost. Only a few weeks before, Peter denied any knowledge of Jesus. What does his leadership in these first days witness to his native qualities of prompt thought and action? What evidence does this same situation offer of some unique experience with the risen Lord? See 1 Corinthians 15. 5. State the occasions in these four chapters in which Peter appears the leader and spokesman of the early church. Examine Acts 5. 1-12, 15, 29; 8. 14-25; 10. 1-48; 12. 1-4; 15. 6-12; Galatians 1. 18; 2. 7. In all these references Peter appears as the foremost representative of the church at Jerusalem and of the Jewish Christianity that emanated from the labors of the apostles. It is Peter who suggests that a successor to Judas be appointed; he is the preacher of Pentecost; he performs the first miracle; he proclaims the Christian faith in Solomon's Porch; he and John are the first to suffer persecution; he defends the new community before the Sanhedrin; he rebukes Ananias and Sapphira for their hypocrisy; he is the first choice of the apostles to inspect the spread of Christianity in Samaria; he is the first of the apostles to see that Christianity is more than a Jewish sect; Paul visits him as the most representative of the

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apostles; Herod sentences him to death as the head of the Jerusalem church; and despite the presidency of James, Peter occupies the foremost place in the council of Jerusalem.

His Qualifications for Leadership.—What light is thrown upon this position of leadership by Matthew 16. 18, 19; Mark 16. 7; John 21. 15-17? Did Jesus choose Peter for his unique place of leadership in Jewish Christianity? What characteristics in Peter elevated him to this place of leadership? Peter was born probably at Bethsaida, a fishing town at the northeast corner of the sea of Galilee. His father, Jonas, was a fisherman. At the time Jesus began his ministry Peter was married and living at Capernaum (Mark 1. 29) and with Andrew his brother engaged in the fishing industry. Before Jesus began his ministry Peter and Andrew had been stirred by the reform movement of John the Baptist and had followed the crowds to the Jordan and enrolled as John's disciples (John 1. 35-42). An uneducated peasant of Galilee (Acts 4. 13), a man of humble and laborious toil, there yet gleamed within his soul the Messianic dream; and once the assurance possessed him that the Messiah had come, Peter became the undaunted prophet of the new world order.

His Leadership Based on Quick Spiritual Perception and Courageous Utterance.—There was a quick spiritual perception and a courageous utterance about Peter which conferred leadership upon him. He voiced the deathless devotion of the Twelve at the Capernaum synagogue (John 6. 68); he was the first to feel the Messiahship of Jesus (Matthew 16. 16); he alone drew sword to protect his betrayed Master (John 18. 10); and he alone, alas! openly denied knowledge of Jesus. But he alone, also, impelled by his love and imperilled by his Galilean accent, ventured into the death-dealing trap of the high priest's residence. Vision, love, service,—are not these the elements of Peter's greatness? It was Peter who first awakened from bewilderment and dismay over the crucifixion to proclaim Jesus still his people's Christ. He loved his Master devotedly. For him Peter had left all—home, family, and business.

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He became the great missionary of Jewish Christianity (Galatians 2. 7, 8) and a homeless wanderer for his Lord. During the last half of his life, a period of thirty years or more, Peter was a tireless evangelist, a leading figure, the chief apostle of the Christian Church in the Jewish world.

His Later Years.—Little is known of these later years. At least once he set out alone upon a tour of evangelization and visited Lydda, Joppa, and Cæsarea. On some of his missionary tours he was accompanied by his wife (1 Corinthians 9. 5). He was at Antioch (Galatians 2. 11) and may have been at Corinth.¹ The tradition that Peter labored for some time in Rome and there suffered martyrdom is an early and frequently repeated statement of the church fathers of the first four Christian centuries. Peter was crucified probably by the orders of Nero.

STEPHEN

The New Office of Deacon.—Examine Acts 6. 1-7. Observe that a new office is created in the church. What conditions required the appointment of "the seven"? What was their task? What qualifications were required in them? Observe the manner in which they were chosen and set apart for their task and (verse 7) state the result of their labors.

Larger Than His Office.—Observe that two of these appointees served a larger purpose than to oversee the equitable distribution of Christian charity. This was, of course, no mean service in itself. The Grecian Jews were Jews from Greek-speaking provinces, who, through a temporary or permanent residence in Jerusalem, had come into contact with the rising Christianity. Palestinian Jews, who had not drifted for any reason into distant cities, felt themselves a little superior to their Greek brethren. It was therefore no trifling service to quiet these jealousies and to unite the whole Christian group into one harmonious life. Yet at least Stephen and Philip, who probably them-

¹ *Church History*, Eusebius, Volume II, Chapter XXV; and 1 Corinthians 1. 12.

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selves were Hellenist Jews, felt called to add to their labors the sharing with the apostles of "the ministry of the word." Read Acts 6. 8-10; 8. 5-13, and note that, with the one exception of "the laying on of hands," through which the Holy Spirit was given (Acts 8. 18), Stephen and Philip exercised all the functions of the Twelve. The fact that Stephen took upon himself this apostolic function was a declaration to the church that the gospel was more than a Jerusalem movement: it had in it the elements of universal life. This is the first instance of independent action in the church: the first assurance that the risen Lord was intending that the propagation of his gospel was to be more than the privilege of an apostolic hierarchy.

Preached in the Synagogue.—Like Paul, Stephen proclaimed the gospel in the synagogue. His audiences were the Greek-speaking Jews (Acts 6. 8). We do not know the details of his message. But, like Peter, he must have preached that Jesus of Nazareth, crucified and raised from the dead, was the Messiah. Like the Twelve, he must have proclaimed the near approach of the Messianic Kingdom. Unlike the apostles, he must have stressed the relative unimportance of the Temple and the law. Jesus had predicted a destruction of the Temple (Matthew 24. 2), and his disciples had interpreted this to mean that in the Messianic Kingdom there would be no use for the Temple (Matthew 24. 3). The proclamation that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah had aroused little or no antagonism up to this time. Some new element was introduced into the gospel preaching by Stephen. It is quite likely that he, catching more of the spiritual message of Jesus than the apostolic preaching had grasped, was beginning to emphasize its freedom from Jewish ritual. This new emphasis aroused the hostility of the Jews.

The Charges Against Stephen.—Note the charges against Stephen (Acts 6. 13, 14). Read closely Stephen's address and determine whether Stephen denies the accusation that he had preached a destruction of the Temple and an abrogation of Jewish law. Two divergent views are held concerning this address: (1) Stephen seeks to prove that he

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and his fellow Christians have shown no disrespect to the Temple and the law, but, on the contrary, his accusers and all non-Christian Jews of the day are the real violators of God's ordinances; (2) Stephen virtually accepts the truth of the accusation and seeks to show, especially in regard to the Temple, that neither in the past nor in the Messianic Kingdom are the Temple and its ritual an expression of God's will.

Two Interpretations of Stephen's Address.—(1) If the first interpretation is accepted, the following is Stephen's argument: Israel's history is a history of unbelief, ignorance, and opposition to the will of God. The Hebrews (a) refused to follow the leadership of Moses, who sought to lead them from Egypt into Canaan, their true home (Acts 7. 24-28); (b) refused to obey Moses at Sinai, were determined to return to Egypt; besought Aaron for gods (Acts 7. 39-43); killed the prophets who predicted the Messianic age (Acts 7. 52); at last Israel has put to death the Righteous One, the one who really fulfilled the law. (2) If the second view is followed, this history of rebellion climaxes in the building of the Temple, an act unauthorized by God (Acts 7. 47-50). If Stephen was now attempting to cast doubt upon the Temple and its ritual as divinely ordained, he had arrived at a view of Judaism wherein, perceiving the incidental and temporary character of Temple worship and Mosaic law, he became the glorious forerunner of Paul in discerning the equality of Jew and Gentile in the church of God. Surely both of these views may have been held by Stephen. Undoubtedly he felt that his accusers were disloyal to the will of God (Acts 7. 41); and he may have felt truly that the kingdom that Jesus proclaimed was a far more spiritual and universal rule than current Judaism desired in its Messianic longing. Stephen thus becomes a notable figure in the apostolic church and occupies a significant post in the developing kingdom of God.

Stephen's Death the Beginning of the Persecution of the Christians.—The successful silencing of Stephen was the beginning of an attack upon the Christians which scat-

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tered them far and wide. The first preaching in Samaria (Acts 8. 4-25) and Philip's preaching in some of the coast towns (Acts 8. 40) are incidents typical of the general spread of Christianity at this period. Lydda, Joppa, Phœnician coast towns, and Antioch and Cyprus also certainly were reached at this time.

PAUL

His Birthplace and Roman Citizenship.—Paul was born at Tarsus, an important city of Cilicia in Asia Minor. Paul's boast about his birthplace is well founded (Acts 21. 39). Strabo, who visited Tarsus at about the time Paul was born, speaks in highest praise of the city's political and intellectual life. This writer states that Tarsus furnished a Stoic philosopher for the household of Marcus Cato and another who was the preceptor of Augustus Cæsar; and, after giving a list of Tarsian grammarians, philosophers, and poets, he continues, "Rome is best able to inform us what number of learned men this city has produced, for it is filled with persons from Tarsus and Alexandria." Tarsus also was a center for the manufacture of goat's-hair fabric, famed for durability. From such cloth were made shoes, mats, tents, and coverings of all kinds. Tarsus, from the year 171 B. C., was preëminently a Greek city. Politically it was a city-state. It governed itself through its own elective magistrates and issued its own coins. Greek was the prevailing language. In 47 B. C. Julius Cæsar visited Tarsus, and in 42 it was given the status of a free city of the empire by Antony,² who resided here some time. Numerous Jews were to be found in Tarsus for nearly two centuries before the birth of Paul. Paul was a citizen of Tarsus (Acts 21. 39). His ancestors were probably Tarsian citizens from 171 B. C.; and when the city became a part of the empire, this citizenship, achieved under Greek rule, was recognized by Rome. Read Acts 16. 37-39; 22. 24-29; 23. 26-30; 28. 19, and state the value of Roman citizenship to Paul.

² See Plutarch's *Life of Antony* for a description of the famous meeting of Cleopatra and Antony at Tarsus.

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Primarily a Jew.—Although Paul lived in a Greek city and shared the dignity and privileges of Roman citizenship he was primarily a Jew. His parents were strict Jews. Examine Philippians 3. 5, 6; Galatians 1. 13, 14; Romans 11. 1; Acts 22. 3; 26. 9-11, and state fully the evidence for Paul's Jewish ancestry, education, ideals, sympathies, and life purposes. Paul's life was dominated preëminently by his Jewish blood and education. Even after he long had been committed to his Gentile ministry, the currents of Jewish sympathy ran deep in his nature (Romans 3. 1, 2; 9. 4, 5; 11. 13-28). Almost nothing is known of Paul's family. The devoutness of his parents early urged them to give Paul the best possible Jewish education. He was sent to Jerusalem, where at this time his married sister may have been living (Acts 23. 16). He spent several years in Jerusalem and was trained in the school of Gamaliel. Read Acts 5. 34-39 for an indication of the character and position of Gamaliel. Such teachers in Jerusalem usually met their pupils in the courts of the Temple. The instruction in such a school consisted of passages from the written law with their traditional oral interpretations. These were committed to memory. A well-trained student could keep faithfully in memory many thousands of these decisions. Since the scribes—students whose fitness to teach was vouched for by a rabbi—were frequently members of courts or were consulted by courts concerning the administration of law, Paul no doubt remained in the school of Gamaliel until he was recognized as a teacher. See Acts 7. 58; 8. 1; 26. 10; Galatians 1. 14.

His Zeal for Judaism.—Examine Acts 7. 58; 8. 1-3; 9. 13; 26. 9-11; Galatians 1. 13. Paul voted for Stephen's death and was a close witness of his martyrdom. It is not improbable that he was one of those who disputed with Stephen in the synagogue of the Cilicians (Acts 6. 9). He could not brook the spiritual and universal elements of religion fundamentally inimical to Jewish doctrine. Apparently he devoted his life to stamping out the new sect. Paul had a prominent part in the persecution that followed Stephen's death (Acts 8. 3; Galatians 1. 13). He arrested

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Christians in their homes, dragged them to the synagogues for punishment, strove to make them blaspheme, imprisoned both men and women, and voted for their death. After the church in Jerusalem was wasted, he was commissioned by the Jewish authorities to pursue the scattered Christians to distant cities and to bring to Jerusalem for punishment those whom he apprehended. The fear of Paul had traveled to Damascus (Acts 9. 13); and after Paul's activities ceased, the Christians were able to travel unmolested (Acts 9. 31).

His Conversion.—Paul's change from an ardent persecuting Pharisee into a bold and tireless advocate of Jesus Christ is one of the world's most remarkable transformations. Galatians 1. 13-17 is the earliest written account of this striking reversal of Paul's life. This account is limited to the essential statement that God revealed his Son in Paul. That is, Jesus, the crucified leader of the Christians, is indeed the Messiah and God's own Son, and this Christ of heaven has entered into Paul's own life, so that he no longer seems to live, but Christ himself lives in him. "I have been crucified with Christ; and it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me" (Galatians 2. 20). This wonderful and glorious change in Paul's life took place near Damascus. The story of his experience is told three times in Acts (9. 1-9; 22. 6-16; 26. 12-18; see also 1 Corinthians 9. 1; 15. 8).

His New Apprehension of the Will of God.—Recall the various references to Paul's life and observe that Paul was not conscious of evil living before his conversion. He was no more zealous for God and righteousness after this revolutionary change of his life than he was before; but he now apprehended better the will and purposes of God. Paul's conversion involved at least the entrance into his life of new elements, partly intellectual, partly mystical: (1) He was convinced that Jesus was risen from the dead (1 Corinthians 9. 1; 15. 8, 15); (2) he now held the unsailable conviction that the crucified Jesus of Nazareth is indeed the Christ—that is, the Messiah (1 Corinthians 1. 23; Galatians 2. 20) and the Son of God (Galatians 1. 16);

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(3) the assurance that the most rigorous observance of Jewish law did not satisfy an earnest soul's craving for righteousness and holiness (Galatians 2. 19; Romans 7. 7-25; 8. 1-3); (4) the experience of a new, wonderful life mediated to him by the presence of Christ within him (Galatians 2. 20; Romans 8. 9-11; Colossians 3. 1-4); (5) the belief that it had been God's purpose in his birth and now in his conversion to send him forth into Gentile lands as the apostle of Jesus Christ (Galatians 1. 15, 16; Acts 26. 16-18).

His Further Preparation.—Examine carefully Acts 9. 18-30; 11. 25, 26; 15. 41; Galatians 1. 16-19. These verses permit the following reconstruction of the next fourteen years of Paul's life. After his baptism by Ananias in Damascus, he tarried a short time in the city and told in the synagogue his wonderful experience. Then he withdrew into Arabia. This period of seclusion lasted between two and three years. Returning to Damascus, he proclaimed boldly the Christ, and then, to escape a Jewish plot, was lowered from the city wall. Paul then went to Jerusalem, where he met a few of the disciples and visited Peter fifteen days. During this brief visit he proclaimed the Christian faith, especially to the Greek-speaking Jews. Withdrawing from Jerusalem on learning of a plot to kill him, he first went to Antioch and then returned to his boyhood home in Tarsus. It was probably at this time that he learned the trade of tentmaking. He also preached the gospel through the province of Cilicia, of which Tarsus was the capital. Some ten years were spent in this manner. Then he returned to Antioch in the company of Barnabas.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

The Beginning of the Break Between Judaism and Christianity.—This lesson outlines the outstanding events and personalities of the first fifteen or sixteen years of the Christian Church. We see the beginning of the break between Judaism and Christianity. It grows apparent to men like Stephen and Paul that the kingdom of God is too spiritual and too universal to be a Jewish sect only. It was

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more democratic than the first disciples were aware. The vitality of the Christian experience was quickened by persecution as well as the area of its influence widened. Suffering itself breathes a democratic atmosphere. Nothing more useful could have happened to the early church to draw the Christian community closer together and, by alienating it from the strictest Judaism, to enlarge its sympathy for the Gentile world.

The Significance in Kingdom Development of Individuals Mastered by God and Directed by His Will.—The change in Peter and, much more strikingly, in Paul witnesses to the marvelous transformation wrought in a man's interests by a consciousness of God. Intellectual habits and conceptions, range of emotional experiences, intensity of loyalties, life's ideals and values,—what expansion and energizing are given them when men hold conscious communion with the living God! This study of these three leaders settles the significance in Kingdom development of individuals mastered by God and directed by his will.

THE WINDOWS OF THE SOUL

"We Cannot but Speak the Things We Saw and Heard."—Nothing can check the impulsion of a great spiritual experience. This is a radiant glory of the early Christians. They knew the risen Lord. Such knowledge was too wonderful to be silenced even by threatening authorities. Oh, that the day of great spiritual fellowship with God shall come to the modern church! What a host of courageous, outspoken, spiritually minded, Christ-devoted disciples does our world need to-day! We moderns can be silenced by a sneer. Our testimony is too feebly uttered to reach our nearest business and social associate. To how many of your nearest acquaintances have you ever presented the claims of Christ and witnessed to the reality of his mastery by warm and earnest words? May God forgive your cowardly silences in the face of so much need of positive certain testimony.

"I See the Heavens Opened."—The sky is never a brazen

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blank to a great soul. God is never at the far ends of the world when he is sought even by his least child. Stephen, Peter, Philip, Paul, each in his own way, saw God break through the barriers of the visible to stand at his side. It was this vision and this experience which exalted them into leadership. In the long run the world will have no other leaders. He alone who sees the invisible can lead us along the tangled paths of our tangible, visible world. They who know the spiritual highways become earth's safest guides.

"They That Were Scattered Abroad Went Preaching."—The best way to give life to truth is to kill it. If the servants of the Kingdom never had been stoned, burned, beheaded, and exiled, it would never have triumphed. It is the cause for which we dare all that lives.

"No Mean City."—Tarsus had evils enough to gloom the hardiest optimist. But it had good in it too. It had protected the Jew for two hundred years. It was an educational center. It gave citizenship to men of every race. Paul's citizenship was no slight advantage to his ministry. Paul used his civic rights to advance the kingdom of God. No city is mean in opportunities for good. In the modern city suppose a follower of Christ were tremendously in earnest to make Christian truth alive: what a wealth of open doors in the manifold social contacts of a city's life would invite his individual ministry! The very closeness of men gives the ardent positive Christian endless chances to advance the kingdom of God.

"I Was Not Disobedient to the Heavenly Vision."—This is the vast difference between men: some obey the call of the larger truth, some cling to the old path. To all there come flashing revelations of grander life. God does not withhold visions of the ought-to-be from any soul. But these radiant gleamings of nobler life call us from something grown dear, and we have not within us the spirit of adventure. It is a tragic thing to disobey a spiritual prompting to holier life. Life never is quite so real after the slightest denial of a heavenly summons. Shadows begin to close in on the man who makes a start at disobeying God.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What do we know about Peter's life and occupation?
2. Give the reasons for Peter's leadership in the Jerusalem church.
3. What is the value of Peter's contribution to the Christian Church?
4. To what extent did Peter understand that Christianity was more than a Jewish sect?
5. What was his connection with the Christian Church at Rome?
6. Discuss the work of a deacon in the early church and show how such an office became necessary.
7. Outline Stephen's address of defense before the Sanhedrin.
8. Point out the significance of the statements that caused his death.
9. How did the death of Stephen influence the orthodox Jews in their attitude toward the Christians?
10. Discuss Paul's birth and early training. Describe his boyhood. Tell what is known of his family.
11. How much did Tarsian life influence Paul's character and career? In what way?
12. What part did honest conviction have in Paul's persecution of the early Christians? in his conversion?
13. What new elements of the understanding of God's will and personal religious experience did Paul have after his conversion?
14. Where and how did Paul spend the time between his conversion and the beginning of his work at Antioch?
15. Discuss the events that brought about the beginning of the break between Judaism and Christianity.
16. What did this break mean for the progress of the Kingdom?

SUGGESTED READINGS

A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age, McGiffert, pages 64-81, 85-93, 113-50.

The Church of the Apostles, Ragg, pages 48-68.

History of the Christian Church, Schaff, Volume 1, pages 247-56, 286-303.

Articles "Peter," "Stephen," and "Paul" in *A Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, Hastings.

CHAPTER III

IN THE STEPS OF A TOURING MISSIONARY

THE expansion of Christianity territorially beyond Jerusalem could end only in its crossing the boundaries of Judaism. Men of Cyprus and Cyrene, driven from Jerusalem by the persecution following the death of Stephen, on coming to Antioch preached to non-Jews with marked success. It was to this growing Jewish-Gentile church that Barnabas brought Paul from Tarsus (Acts 11. 20-26), and there he labored for a full year. It was this church that more than any other stood upon the frontier between the two great divisions of the church resulting from Paul's mission to the Gentiles. From this frontier church, where the disciples of Jesus, no doubt in derision, were first called Christians, Paul set forth on those great tours which revolutionized the world. This chapter presents the first and the major portion of the second journey of Paul and narrates his advance into Galatia, Macedonia, and Greece.

THE ADVANCE INTO CYPRUS AND GALATIA

Paul's New Commission.—Read Acts 13. 1-4. To Paul and four others in the Antiochian church who were prophets and teachers the word of the Lord had come, and they were commissioned by that revelation to utter his messages. At first the apostles were the only authorized teachers whose instruction was the basis of church faith and unity. As Christianity spread, other devout and capable men became the recognized instructors of new converts. Paul had spent a year in preaching and teaching at Antioch but he had not forgotten the mission to which he felt his conversion called him.

At Cyprus.—Read Acts 13. 5-12. Note the details of this first venture, the port of departure, the landing at Cyprus,

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the members in the party, and the nature of the work in Cyprus. Observe that they "proclaimed the word of God" in the synagogues of Salamis. There were at this time many Jews in the island. Barnabas himself was a Cyprian. The road to Paphos, a distance of one hundred miles, lay through a fertile country and numerous towns. But they seem to have passed through the island without further preaching until they arrived at Paphos, the capital. No doubt here the missionaries spoke first in the synagogue. When rumor of them was noised abroad, they were summoned by Sergius Paulus, the proconsul, to court. Being "a man of understanding," he was desirous of hearing these men whom he took for traveling philosophers. This was the first presentation of the gospel before the Roman aristocracy and authorities. Its favorable reception by the proconsul evidently quickened the desire of Paul to press on to the center of Roman life and authority.

At Antioch in Galatia.—Read Acts 13. 13-52. It is not known what motives led them from Perga to Antioch. It has been conjectured that Mark left Paul and Barnabas at Perga because at this point some striking change of original plans occurred. Read Galatians 4. 13 and observe that to some illness of Paul the Galatians owed his missionary labors among them. Ramsay¹ conjectures that this illness was malarial fever, whose germs, implanted in his system on these Pamphilian lowlands about Perga, became his "thorn in the flesh" to torment him by recurring attacks throughout his life. To get away from the sickly coast Paul journeyed to Antioch, situated ninety miles inland on a southern spur of the lofty Sultan Dagh Mountains. It has been suggested also that, instead of evangelizing the coast towns of Pamphilia and Cilicia, the ambition of Paul to present the gospel in the great provincial centers of the empire having been fired by his interview with Sergius Paulus, the original plan was abandoned, and the missionaries struck north over the Taurus Mountains to reach, by way of Antioch, the great highway running westward

¹ *St. Paul the Traveler*, page 93.

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through Asia Minor to Ephesus. At Antioch, because Paul was stricken with illness, this ambition was frustrated for the time. Is not this latter view more in harmony with one's general impression of the genius of Paul?

To the Synagogue First.—Here again the missionaries turn first to the synagogue. What insight is here given into the services of the synagogue? Read Paul's address attentively and note that he spoke to Jews and to Gentiles who were accustomed to worship with Jews. Numerous women of prominence in the city (Acts 13. 50) were in his audience. Observe that he (1) reviews the history of the Jews (Acts 13. 17-25), (2) proclaims that the crucified Jesus has been raised from the dead and become Israel's Saviour and Messiah, and (3) offers remission of sins and justification before God. What was the effect of this address? What statements in this address would be likely to alienate and offend his Jewish auditors? to win Gentiles? A week passed during which Paul and Barnabas conversed with many Jews and Gentiles, so that on the next Sabbath the synagogue was packed with curious and eager listeners. After Paul had spoken at considerable length on the same subject as on the previous Sabbath, the Jews, disaffected and resentful, sought to contradict and minimize the message. This antagonism emboldened the speakers to point out that their conduct not only shut them out of the Kingdom but impelled "Christ's messengers" to offer freely the Messianic gospel to the Gentiles. What attitude was taken toward his preaching by the Gentiles? Acts 13. 49 implies an extended period of evangelization in the city and community. This prospering of the gospel finally aroused such Jewish hostility that either the city officials were induced to persecute the missionaries by imprisonment, or the Jewish synagogue authorities may themselves have punished him with "forty stripes save one" (Timothy 3. 11; 2 Corinthians 11. 24). Finally they were forced to leave the city.

Preaching at Iconium.—Read Acts 14. 1-7. Iconium was a small town, well built, situated in the midst of a tract of land more fertile than the usual mountainous plains of

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Lycaonia. This city was eighty miles southeast of Antioch, but lying within the Roman province of Lycaonia. It owed its importance in Paul's day largely to its location near the great highway running from Ephesus to the headwaters of the Euphrates and upon the road branching from this highway which extended southeastward through the Cilician gates to Antioch in Syria. The older inhabitants were Phrygian, but the city's importance drew to it Roman officials and traders as well as Jewish merchants. Here at Iconium, as in the other cities, the gospel was first presented in the synagogue, where both Jews and devout Gentiles heard the message. While a numerous body of Jews accepted the message, the rulers of the synagogue, custodians of Jewish law, traditions, and customs, saw clearly the inevitable destruction of Jewish worship involved in this missionary propaganda. But their persecution of Paul and Barnabas accomplished nothing for a long time. Later the Jews were able to stir up a second persecution, in the midst of which Paul and Barnabas fled to Lystra. An interesting tradition is preserved of this persecution in the apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla, written in the second century. Thecla belonged to one of the chief families of Iconium and was affianced to Thamyris, an aristocratic youth of the city. Thecla, having heard Paul preach, was inspired by a great devotion to him and to the gospel. She refused to carry out her marriage engagement and proposed remaining a virgin in order to devote herself to Christian service. Thamyris and the mother of Thecla had both Paul and Thecla brought before the magistrates. Paul was beaten and expelled from the city. Thecla was condemned to be burned in the theater, but she was miraculously preserved by a sudden downpour of rain. The story at least exhibits a constant feature of the early persecution of Christians by the Gentiles. They were condemned chiefly because their beliefs compelled a direct break with so much of social life.

At Lystra.—Read Acts 14. 8-20. Driven from Iconium, the missionaries passed on to Lystra, eighteen miles distant, following the great highway toward the Cilician gates,

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the mountain pass through the Taurus range. Lystra, though a smaller city than Iconium or Antioch, was, however, a Roman colony. Apparently there was no synagogue in Lystra and, consequently, few Jews. There was one family, the wife or perhaps the widow of which Paul learned to know intimately. Eunice, a Jewess, married to a Greek, was a devout woman (Acts 16. 1; 2 Timothy 1. 5), and it is not unlikely that Paul and Barnabas were guests in her home. Eunice became a Christian at this time (Acts 16. 1). The missionaries were compelled here for the first time, in presenting the gospel, to make a direct appeal to pagan Gentiles. Read carefully the story of the healing of the lame man. This miracle of healing aroused the enthusiasm and confidence of the populace as the preaching itself had not done. The priests of the god "Zeus Before the City"² brought materials for a special sacrifice in the honor of Paul and Barnabas. Note the primitive character of this community. At Athens or Corinth, civilized centers of the Greek and Roman world, the old religion was so undermined by skepticism that such a scene as was enacted at Lystra would have been impossible. Observe (Acts 14. 14) the symbol of distress and condemnation in the presence of an act of sacrilege. Read attentively the address by which Paul stopped the sacrifice and quieted the multitude. Not long afterward Jews from Antioch and Iconium, hearing of Paul's successes, came to Lystra. While they were tarrying and teaching, there came certain Jews from Iconium and Antioch; and as they were disputing publicly, they persuaded the multitudes to withdraw from them, saying that nothing they said is true, but all false; and they stirred up the multitudes and "stoned Paul and dragged him out of the city, supposing that he was dead." The Christian disciples followed the brutal mob; and while they stood round him, considering no doubt his burial, Paul revived. The next day he departed for Derbe, thirty miles distant.

The Return Journey.—Read Acts 14. 21-27. After a

² Bezan text.

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successful ministry at Derbe, which, being a small town, probably did not occupy them a long time, Paul and Barnabas retraced their steps through the cities where they had preached the gospel. In revisiting these cities they were now concerned not with making new converts but in establishing the disciples firmly in the new life. Since these Christians could look no more to the synagogue for teaching and guidance, it was necessary to organize them into churches. No doubt the Christians met in private houses, and it is not improbable that more than one church was organized in each city. Elders were appointed to oversee the church's life, and they were instructed concerning fasting and prayer.

Homeward Bound.—On leaving Antioch the two travelers recrossed the Taurus Mountains into Pamphilia and tarried a while at Perga, preaching their Christian message. When opportunity offered to take ship from Attalia to Antioch, they sailed, and after an absence of from eighteen months to two years reached the city from which they had set out and recounted the story of their trials and triumphs, to the gratification of the Antiochian church.

THE JOURNEY THROUGH ASIA MINOR INTO EUROPE

A Year After the First Tour.—Approximately a year had passed since the return of Paul and Barnabas to Antioch, when one day Paul proposed to Barnabas that they should revisit the churches they had organized. During this interval Paul passed the time at Antioch and Jerusalem. Read Acts 15. 36-40 for the difference of opinion which prevented Paul from carrying out his proposal to Barnabas.

Off for Galatia.—Paul and Silas set out for Galatia, traveling by land and passing through the country about Tarsus, where during some ten years Paul had presented the cause of Christ. Following the imperial highway through the Cilician gates across the Taurus, Paul and Silas came to Derbe and Lystra. At Derbe no more was done than to confirm the church. Paul seems to have left the responsibility of further evangelization upon the loyal disciples

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themselves. They were not made dependent on a foreign missionary. At Lystra an important addition to the missionary staff was made (Acts 16. 1-3). Examine also 2 Timothy 1. 5-7; 1 Timothy 1. 18; 4. 14, and observe that a certain timidity and backwardness were characteristic of Timothy, and that he seemed to have been selected as a foreign missionary through the calling of some inspired fellow Christians at Lystra.

On to Troas.—Read Acts 16. 4-10. After leaving Lystra, Paul, Silas, and Timothy visited the churches in Antioch and other unnamed Phrygian towns. There is no hint of persecution now. The churches are strong in faith and growing larger daily. Fifteen or twenty miles from Antioch was the boundary between the provinces of Galatia and Asia. Asia was a rich and flourishing province, the great center of Hellenism in Paul's day. Evidently Paul had in mind the following of the great highway through the province to Ephesus. But some deep conviction that more experience was needed or, perhaps, some conflict with the authorities of one of these Asian cities was needed brought the positive assurance that this province was now open to evangelization. Accordingly, they struck northward through the eastern edge of the province of Asia, one hundred miles to the boundary of the province of Bithynia, bordering on the Euxine Sea. Here, again, they were convinced that Bithynia was not their present goal. They now turned directly east, passing through Mysia, a part of the province of Asia, to Troas.

At Philippi.—Read Acts 16. 11-40. Led onward by a vision at Troas, Paul sailed across the Ægean Sea to Neapolis, a distance of one hundred and forty miles, and after a land journey of ten miles reached Philippi, a colony of Rome and the chief city of its district in Macedonia. The citizens of Philippi were Roman citizens and had the right to vote in the assemblies at Rome. The pride and privilege involved in such citizenship is the key to the incidents of Paul's ministry at Philippi. There was no synagogue in the city, and the Jewish population was negligible. Where there was no synagogue, the Jews were

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accustomed to meet on the Sabbath for prayer beside a river or along the seashore. Women composed the little group Paul found gathered for worship here.

The Fruits of Evangelism.—Paul's work ended in Philippi through conflict with the authorities brought about by the attack of the owners of a slave girl, who was a ventriloquist. Among early peoples it was generally believed that ventriloquism was due to a spirit dwelling in the ventriloquist, and that such a person could tell the future. The Philippian populace, the owners of the girl, and the girl herself undoubtedly believed in this explanation of her power. Such a mind might well become diseased and distorted. When she was restored to sanity, her money-making power was gone. The charge of these embittered men against Paul and Silas before the magistrates climaxed in the claim that Roman customs and privileges were being subverted. In the midst of the tumult Paul recognized the futility of claiming Roman citizenship, or else his protest was not heard. They were thrown into the prison, wounded and sore from their beating, but their spirit was unquenched.

A Midnight Jail Delivery.—Coincident with the midnight hymns and prayers of Paul and Silas, an earthquake shook the city and, forcing the doorposts of the prison apart, let slip the bar across the door so that it swung open. But the prisoners made no attempt to escape. The jailer, about to commit suicide, on being reassured by Paul secured the other prisoners³ and led Paul and Silas forth. The prisoners were recognized in the city "as slaves of God" (Acts 16. 17), and it was generally assumed that the Deity, by the earthquake, was punishing the city for its evil treatment of his servants. Read the remainder of the story of the jailer's conversion, the liberation of the prisoners, and their departure.

The Journey to Corinth.—Read Acts 17. 1 to 18. 1. Read attentively the account of Paul's journey through Macedonia into Greece. There is no explanation why he passed

³ Bezan text.

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through certain important cities without presenting the gospel. In Thessalonica he began, as usual, with the synagogue; and his work ended here, as in most cases, with a riot. A new charge was made against the missionaries here. At Berea a most favorable impression was made upon the missionaries by the citizens. Athens, the next preaching point on the journey, presented an entirely different situation. Despite his unfavorable reception Paul's preaching was not fruitless. A later chapter will consider Paul's message at Athens in more detail. The next station was Corinth. Here Paul remained for some time, and through his and others' labors a strong church was established.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

The Imperialism of the Christian Gospel.—This chapter presents an outline of the journeys and labors of Paul and his companions in their efforts to spread the good news of Christ into Gentile lands. The first journey was a tour of about nine hundred miles; the second, twelve hundred miles. There is a definite statement that the gospel was proclaimed in eleven cities. This, however, is not the whole account of Paul's preaching stations. See Romans 15. 19; 1 Thessalonians 1. 7; Acts 13. 49; 16. 4. Greek was the language used by the missionaries. It was spoken by Cyprians, Pamphilians, Galatians, Asians, Bithynians, Macedonians, and Achæans. It was the language of the synagogue, the courts, the pagan temples, the market place, and the church. These journeys of Paul radiate the glowing imperialism of the Christian gospel. It possesses a conquering message for all peoples. It throbs with the beat of universal life. It knows no racial, political, or social barriers. Springing from the soul of the one universal God, it is the very essence of democracy. It has in its very nature the power to level and to exalt, to purge and to enrich, the diversified units of humanity into a breathing, living, vital fraternity.

The Kingdom of God at Work.—Here we see the king-

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dom of God actually at work in fulfilling the dream of the best of the Hebrew prophets. In their thought the Hebrew was Jehovah's evangelist and missionary. Jesus reawakened that consciousness of Jewish mission in Peter, Stephen, Barnabas, Silas, and Paul. In Paul it flared forth in power and triumph. This is the turning point of the world's history. Here is the actual, successful, permanent crossing of Jewish barriers by Christianity into the wide domain of the world's life. The idealism of Jesus Christ is justified by its victory in his greatest of apostles.

OBEYING ORDERS

A Soldier of Jesus Christ.—Paul veritably was a soldier of Jesus Christ. Near Damascus he enlisted under his great Commander. Thenceforth he lived under orders. At Christ's command he set out for Cyprus. He was forbidden by the Spirit of Jesus to journey through the province of Asia to Ephesus. He was turned back from the shores of the Euxine Sea and sent into Macedonia by the same authority. Paul never proclaimed the gospel to a man or to a city apart from this consciousness of the directing presence of Christ in his soul. His plans were the fulfilling of Christ's program. It was this consciousness of fulfilling Christ's will which gave him strength. Think for a moment of his vast labors. Hundreds of miles on foot, encountering in every city his angry countrymen, antagonizing the deepest social relationships of the Gentile world, haled by mobs before the political authorities, jeered and cursed, scourged and stoned, imprisoned and exiled, alienated from his family and often sick, and, although ever on extensive journeys, providing for his necessities by his own hard labor at tentmaking, his life for years was an appalling round of difficulties and sacrifices to challenge the stoutest man. Yet Paul endured and triumphed in his consciousness of the Christ dwelling within him.

The Secret of a Joyous Life.—It was because Paul obeyed that his life was a joyous life. There is no joy like the joy of spiritual exaltation. Only a heaven-filled soul could

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write, "I have been crucified with Christ, and it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me." Wounded, sore, unwashed, unfed, unjustly condemned, he sings midnight hymns in the Philippian jail. His greatest wish for the happiness of others is that they might be filled with his joy (Acts 26. 29). He has sung Christianity's greatest hymn of joyous love (1 Corinthians 13). To be dismayed and cast down by life's tasks and burdens is indeed to be the slave, and not the master, of the world. No man is defeated whose life is the fulfilled program of God. Conscious of carrying out the divine will, a man may evidence the customary signs of defeat, but such a man is crowned with victory.

The Right Perspective.—In obedience to orders Paul took up a new relation to trade and business. Tentmaking never became for him a primary interest. It was ever subordinate to the work of the kingdom of God. Why should farming or teaching or manufacturing or merchandising or any other vocation ever set aside the great spiritual interests of life? Is the soul secondary to the body? Who enters into the fullest, richest life—the man who centers his desires in food and clothing, in farms and banks, or he who lives to further civic reforms, to erase some aggravating social injustice, to spread the Kingdom to the remotest land, and to win the men of his own community into the fellowship of Jesus Christ? There is only one answer: That man enters into life who seeks life. He who labors primarily for the flesh sinks to the pettiness of his transient goals.

God's Orders.—Every man is under the orders of God. To seek his orders gladly and to follow them strictly opens every door to human joy and triumph. Back of all our blind groping after greatness and happiness is the program of God for our part in the world's life. To miss this plan of God by our wayward willfulness is the dark tragedy of mankind. To open one's soul to all that God would be in us is to know life in all its possible greatness. The will of God is the only path leading from this hour to heaven.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. How came Paul to be called to be a missionary?
2. What peculiar interest attaches to the church at Antioch?
3. Trace the journey and work of Paul at Cyprus, Antioch in Galatia, Lyconium, and Lystra.
4. What prompted Paul's second missionary tour?
5. What results were attained at Troas, Philippi, Corinth, and Athens?
6. If Paul considered himself a missionary to the Gentiles, what object did he have in speaking in the synagogues?
7. State the points of teaching in which Paul and the orthodox Jews differed. Why did Paul's emphasis of these differences naturally cause antagonism?
8. What particular teachings of Paul antagonized his Gentile hearers?
9. What contribution was made by Barnabas and Silas to these early Gentile churches?
10. Mention a few of the social, moral, and religious ideas and practices which these early Gentile Christians were obliged to discard in order to enjoy personal fellowship with Jesus Christ.
11. What sort of faith, devotion, and courage characterized the labors and sufferings of the first missionaries into Gentile lands?
12. How did the Greek language become a force in the development of the Kingdom?
13. Show that the new putting of the gospel message demonstrated the genius of the early missionaries.
14. To what extent were the events of this lesson the great turning point in the world's history?
15. How far is the idealism of Jesus justified by its victory in his greatest of apostles?

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CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY-CHRISTIAN MESSAGE

To contemplate the triumphs of early Christianity is to be filled with wonder at the rapidity with which the new religion spread through the lands open to travelers from Jerusalem. When Paul was in Thessalonica, his enemies said of the missionaries that they had "turned the world upside down" (Acts 17. 6). During Paul's lifetime it was said the gospel was proclaimed "in every place" (1 Thessalonians 1. 8), "throughout the whole world" (Romans 1. 8), "in all the world bearing fruit and increasing" (Colossians 1. 6), "preached among the nations" (1 Timothy 3. 16); "preached everywhere" (Mark 16. 20). Countless thousands of Jews were numbered among Christian believers (Acts 21. 20). Revelation 7. 9 indicates the wide expansion of the faith at the close of the first Christian century. This is amazing history. There were three classes of people who were drawn into the new life: namely, Jews; Gentiles who, sick of the idolatry of the pagan world, were the adherents of the synagogue and were known as "God-fearing" or "devout persons"; and Gentiles who were raw converts from heathenism itself. What was the message which won these people by the multiplied thousands to Christianity?

THE PRESENTATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE JEW

The Preaching of the First Days.—It has been pointed out in the first chapter that the theme of Peter's preaching was the Messiahship of Jesus. The customary Jewish view of the kingdom of God was held by these earliest disciples of Jesus. It was their task not to proclaim a new content in Kingdom expectations but to declare that Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved by signs which God did by him, although he had been crucified and buried, had been raised

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from the dead, exalted by God, and given a glorified place by God's side in heaven. It was through this process of suffering and exaltation, strange and unexpected, that Jesus of Nazareth had been made the Messiah (Acts 2. 36). According to this preaching Jesus has not yet entered into his Messianic work; he is simply inducted into this Messianic office. Jesus, who is now the Christ, will remain in heaven until the dawning of the Messianic age (Acts 3. 21), but these "times of restoration" are not far distant: Peter and his colaborers and their auditors will live to witness the advent of the Messiah (Acts 1. 11).

The Resurrection of Jesus the Crowning Proof of His Messiahship.—The resurrection is the first proof offered to the Jews who knew little or nothing of the earthly life of Jesus. The signs by which God evidenced his choice of Jesus are not related. Appeal is made rather to the Jewish Scriptures, by means of which the apostles seek to prove that it was prophesied that the Messiah was to suffer, die, and rise again. Scripture proof on these points would be convincing and final for a Jewish audience. After hearing the facts of the resurrection and the proof of Scripture the Jew who was convinced of the Messiahship of Jesus was "pricked in the heart" that he and his people had so maltreated God's Messiah. There was now only one course of action: He must repent for such blindness and evil-doing, confess by baptism the Messianic nature and office of Jesus, and receive forgiveness of sins as the result of this acknowledgment of wrong and this new adherence to Jesus, the Christ (Acts 2. 38; 5. 31). To do these things was to save themselves from their "crooked generation" (Acts 2. 40), to be preserved from utter destruction (Acts 3. 23). Since Jesus is God's true Messiah, there is no other name or person through whom the salvation of the Messianic Kingdom can be secured (Acts 4. 12). To acknowledge this Messiahship of Jesus is "to obey God" (Acts 5. 29), and to those who so obey him God sends the Holy Spirit as his witness of their obedience, his assurance of the truth of their beliefs, and the seal of their rights in the coming Messianic Kingdom (Acts 5. 32).

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Later Preaching to the Jews.—Time passed. The Messiah did not return. But the glory of the earthly life and the mystery of the resurrection did not dim. There were depths in the life and sufferings of Jesus which the first preaching did not sound. At first the death of the Messiah was a hindrance in Christian thinking, but in reflecting over this death it came to pass that a saving significance was attached to it. This conviction was deepened by the sense that the most faithful adherence to Jewish law left life barren of lofty inspiration and, especially, did not fill the soul with a joyous sense of rightness before God. Jewish legalism neither bequeathed to its most loyal adherents the sense that God was satisfied with a kept law nor yielded the strong motive for a rigorous moral life such as was pressed upon them by the presence of the Spirit within them. At first the prophets were made to yield their witness to the dying Messiah. Next the law was subjected to searching inquiry, and it too was interpreted to witness the necessity of the death of Christ. When this was done, the early Christians became clearly aware that the death of Jesus was necessary to salvation. Peter's address to Cornelius (Acts 10. 34-48) indicates the initial stage of the subjection of righteousness obtained by observance of law to the new righteousness obtained by direct cleaving unto Christ. This position is witnessed also by the fellowship given Paul by the Jerusalem leaders—James, Peter, and John (Galatians 2. 9).

(a) *The death of Christ necessary to salvation.*—It may have been at Antioch that the first definite proclamation was made that the death of Christ was necessary to salvation. Paul positively asserts that he had not been instructed in the gospel by the apostles (Galatians 1. 17). Yet he states that he had been taught that the central fact of the gospel is that "Christ died for our sins" (1 Corinthians 15. 3) and he implies (1 Corinthians 15. 11) that this was the customary preaching of all Christian missionaries. Paul labored a year at Antioch before setting out on his missionary journey to Galatia. Then, when he preached to the Jews of Antioch in Galatia, he proclaimed

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that the death of Christ is essential to salvation—that is, to justification before God.

(1) *Paul's method.*—Examine Acts 13. 16-41 for the elements of Paul's preaching to the Jews. He, like Peter, seeks to show that Jesus, although crucified, is nevertheless the Messiah. Like his predecessors he also seeks to show that the death and resurrection of Jesus are fully attested by the prophetic writings of Israel. But Paul goes further than the recorded sermons of his predecessors. He puts explicitly what others were beginning to feel: The death of Christ has some sort of atoning merit. Through this dying and rising Messiah believing Christians receive what they could not receive through the most faithful adherence to Jewish legalism—a justification before God. This account of the preaching of the saving value of Christ's death is corroborated by Paul's own testimony. See Galatians 1. 4; 2. 16-20; 3. 1-11. While Paul, in Galatians, is writing to Christians, of whom nearly all were Gentiles, he sets forth the gospel as he would proclaim it to the Jew.

(2) *Fruits of conflict with Judaism.*—It is not likely that in any of the cities where the gospel had been preached up to the time Paul began work in Corinth, Christian preaching attempted to give a reasoned explanation of the way in which the death of Christ secured the salvation which the law was unable to do. At this stage, before the Judaizers troubled the Galatian churches, it was sufficient to proclaim that "Christ died for us" (1 Thessalonians 5. 10); that "he gave himself for our sins" (Galatians 1. 4). It was in the conflict of Gentile Christianity with Judaism that the disciples felt the need of a richer doctrine of both the work and the person of Christ.

(b) *Why Christ died.*—Paul was no doubt the first of the early church to work out a fuller conception of Christ than was used even by him in the first fifteen years of his preaching. When he felt the need of asking and answering why Christ died Paul found no single answer full enough for his needs. The most obvious way to view the death of Christ was to consider it as some form of sacrifice. For

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Paul it was not merely Jesus of Nazareth who had died: it was the Messiah who was put to death on the cross.

(1) *The answer in Romans 3. 24-26; 8. 1-4.*—These passages, difficult to interpret accurately, present the death of Christ as a sacrifice. The ideas here seem as follows: (a) God in the past has not punished sins with strict justice. (b) This forbearance of God is at an end: God must exhibit his own righteousness and he now insists upon righteousness in men. (c) Since God does not wish to destroy men he sends his Son as a sacrifice for sin (Romans 8. 3, marginal reading). (d) Such an exhibition of God's love (Romans 8. 32) and such a death of the sinless Son (2 Corinthians 5. 21) fully set forth the righteousness of God and the necessity for justice. (e) After this justness is shown by the death of Christ, God may freely justify mankind. (f) This death of Christ becomes a propitiatory sacrifice when so claimed by faith.

(2) *The answer in Galatians 3. 10-13.*—Paul approaches the death of Christ in another way in Galatians 3. 10-13. The key to this passage is the primitive conception of a curse.¹ According to early ideas a curse possesses objective reality and keeps its potency until it lights upon some being and spends its power in working some evil (see Deuteronomy 11. 29 for this conception). The argument for the death of Christ on this line is: (a) Everyone who seeks righteousness by law is under a curse, for cursed is he who fails in any point of observance of law. (b) The curse of unfulfilled law is death. (c) Christ took upon himself the curse of the law, for he hung upon a tree (Deuteronomy 21. 22, 23). By his death the curse of the law spent itself. (d) Released from the curse, we may now receive freely through faith the justifying Spirit of God.

(3) *Another answer.*—There is a third way in which Paul conceived the necessity of the death of Christ. Read Galatians 2. 20 and observe the mystical union of Paul with Christ. It is Christ who lives in Paul's body. So close is

¹ See *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, Westermarck, Volume I, pages 57-61; articles "Cursing and Blessing" in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, and "Curse" in *A Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, Hastings.

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this union that Paul too has been crucified. This mystical union of the believer with Christ is the privilege and the obligation of every true disciple (1 Thessalonians 5. 10). Read now Romans 6. 2-11 and observe that Christians are mystically identified with Christ in death and in resurrection, which for believers is a resurrection from sin into newness of life. Christians are "crucified with Christ"; they have "died with Christ"; they are "alive in Christ Jesus." It is this process of death and resurrection achieved in union with Christ that justifies us before God. "Those that are in Christ Jesus" stand uncondemned (Romans 8. 1). Examine also 2 Corinthians 5. 14-21. Note the clear statement of the mystical union of Christians with Christ in his death. "One died, therefore all died." Since men must die to sin to be righteous before God, and since to live righteously they must become righteous in Christ (2 Corinthians 5. 17, 21)—that is, they must be mystically united with Christ (Galatians 2. 20; 3. 27)—Christ must needs die that all men might die with him and rise with him.

Paul's Messiah Is God's Own Son.—Paul's Messiah is not only "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God" (Acts 2. 22), but God's own Son entering by human birth into the Jewish world (Galatians 4. 4, 5) to work out his Messianic mission of redemption. This for Paul was the astounding wonder of the world. The Son of God, living in equal glory with God, resigned his heavenly life to enter into the servile life of men, enduring the suffering and the shame of the cross, to become the Saviour of men (Philippians 2. 6-8). This was the secret of Christ for Paul: love and service in infinite measure to redeem the world from sin.

THE GOSPEL AS PRESENTED TO THE GOD-FEARING

Gentile Worshipers of Jehovah.—In every city where there was a synagogue pagans were attracted by the positive and relatively simple doctrines and pure morals of Judaism. Such Gentiles, though unwilling to throw in their lot with the Jewish race, gave up their pagan worship. Such were

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called "God-fearing" (Acts 10. 22; 13. 16, 26). Peter's message to Cornelius (Acts 10. 34-43) is an instance of the earliest presentation of the gospel to these devout Gentiles. Observe in this sermon the extensive reference to the earthly life of Jesus. As in Peter's discourse at Pentecost, so here it is Jesus of Nazareth who is exalted to be the Christ (Acts 10. 42). Here it is asserted that Christ—that is, the Messiah—is to be the Judge of all mankind. Acceptance of this Messianic character of Jesus is followed by forgiveness of sins and the presence of the Holy Spirit.

At Thessalonica and Berea.—At Thessalonica, Paul spoke in the local synagogue. Devout Greeks, adherents of Judaism, were in his audience (Acts 17. 2, 3). The same message was proclaimed at Berea (Acts 17. 11). It is unlikely that Paul made any distinction in his preaching to the "God-fearing." They were familiar enough with Judaism to follow his arguments.

THE MESSAGE DELIVERED TO PAGAN HEARERS

Paul's Message at Lystra and Athens.—The author of Acts gives two brief reports of Paul's discourses to a heathen audience—the first at Lystra (14. 15-17), the second at Athens (17. 22-31). There are brief statements and hints of his preaching to pagans in his letters. Paul's preaching doubtless was the type by which churches were built up in pagan lands. Paganism was cursed by idolatry and immorality. No doubt the most educated, so far as they were religious, knew the vanity of idolatry and believed in a deity who was not to be worshiped in wood and stone; but the masses were not so freed from primitive beliefs. Paul saw the moral baseness of pagan civilization and severely arraigned it in his preaching. First Thessalonians 4. 2-6; 1. 3; Galatians 5. 19-21; Romans 1. 26-31, picture the vices of the heathen world.

One True and Living God.—Paul felt his first duty was to proclaim that there is only one true and living God. Thus Christian preaching was a monotheistic challenge to the widely spread and deeply rooted polytheism of ancient life. See Acts 14. 15; 17. 23; 1 Thessalonians 1. 9.

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This one God is the Creator of the world (Acts 14. 15; 17. 24-26, 28), the giver of earth's blessings (14. 17; 17. 25). His nature, being spiritual, cannot be honored by worship of idols, however costly they may be (17. 29; 1 Thessalonians 1. 9). Since the gods of the pagans are demons (1 Corinthians 10. 20), the worship of idols is the source of the pagan world's immoralities (Romans 1. 22-32). God in the past has been indulgent toward this idolatry and immorality; he now commands men to turn from idolatry and repent of their evil deeds (Acts 17. 30, 31). The pagan world is not excusable for its excesses: nature should have revealed a better deity than paganism knew (14. 17; 17. 28, 29; Romans 1. 20). Judgment awaits in which evildoers shall be punished (Acts 17. 31).

Salvation From Sin.—God offers salvation not only from the disasters these evils are bringing upon men but also from the sins themselves. He has sent his Son into the world, who was crucified for our sins (Galatians 1. 4; 3. 1; 1 Corinthians 15. 3). This Son, whom men knew as Jesus, was raised from the dead (Acts 17. 18, 31; 1 Thessalonians 1. 10; 1 Corinthians 15. 3). He will come again to inaugurate the judgment (1 Thessalonians 1. 10; 5. 1, 2; Acts 17. 31). From the sin and its penalty, awarded at the time of judgment (Galatians 6. 7, 8), we are saved by faith. We are justified before God not by obedience to law but by faith (Galatians 3. 6-9). Yet the disciples of Christ must evidence this faith by pure living. It was here, in the giving up of idols and immoral practices, that Christian living made its open break with the pagan world. The Christian message was through and through a moral message. In every place Paul evidently charged his converts from paganism with the necessity of pure living (1 Thessalonians 4. 1-7; Galatians 5. 13-26). This salvation from the wrath of the impending judgment and from evil living was assured and experienced by mystical union with Christ (1 Thessalonians 5. 10; Galatians 2. 20; 3. 5).

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

Paul's Preaching to the Gentiles Presents a Distinct

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Advance in Kingdom Conquest Along Social Lines.—To unite men of many races and various stages of social achievement into one brotherhood involves a recognition of the good in all. Judaism in Paul's day saw no value in paganism. Dim-eyed in sympathy and faith, Jewish religion lacked the spiritual initiative and strength to seize upon the Greco-Roman world and build up within it a native religious life on monotheistic and nonidolatrous lines. What Judaism failed to do, Christianity accomplished. It did this because it was able to recognize the good in the pagan world and to seize upon this good as material for the Christian kingdom. Paganism for Paul was not wholly bad: it and Christianity were not mutually exclusive. Greeks and Jews had a common origin in God. God marked out the boundaries of nations; he manifests himself in every living being; his providence is seen in the rains, the sunshine, and the harvests of every land. Then, too, the religion of paganism was not wholly worthless. It was devout to excess (Acts 17. 22). The very excesses of pagan religion express the Gentile world's groping after God (17. 27). The significant sociological element in Paul's preaching to the Gentiles is that he turns aside from the Old Testament upon which to ground his message and bases it rather in the moral and religious consciousness of humanity.

ACROSS BOUNDARIES

The Intellectual Traveler.—Who does not marvel at the missionary journeys of Paul? Yet more marvelous than the unwearied tours along the highways of the empire are the intellectual journeys he took from the doctrines of his forefathers. Paul is preëminently the intellectual traveler of the early Christian world. Trained in Judaism as none of his Christian coworkers were, he yet perceived, most clearly of all, the universal impulses of the gospel and followed them into sympathetic understanding of the Gentile world. Paul's intellectual sympathies placed him in command of early Christianity.

Intellectual Largeness.—Shall we learn intellectual largeness from Paul? Shall we too renounce the static

view of life? Shall we too admit that all truth has not been discovered by our forefathers? Shall we believe that beyond the highest range of our knowledge dim, mysterious summits of facts and experiences await the intrepid climbers of the far-off years? Shall we also learn that theology is not an ancient well from which our forefathers drank and were satisfied, and from which we too must quench our thirst or die, but rather is a living stream bearing us ever on its deep bosom toward the infinite ocean of life with God? "None of our theories are quite large enough for all the disclosures of time," wrote George Eliot, and the passing centuries do reveal in every department of life that ancient formulas, like the old wineskins of the gospel parable, are too frail for the wider and richer experiences of mankind. Who cannot see also that Paul was a spiritual journeyer? To turn from Jew to Gentile enriched the content of his own soul. From Tarsus to Athens is the symbol of the journey from the righteousness of the law to the peace of the indwelling Christ. Paul's spiritual experiences resembled a runner pushing toward the goal. He kept an attitude of daily expectancy of revelation from God. He knew that the full content of his orders had not been given at Damascus. At Antioch, the borders of Bithynia, at Troas, at every city, there came fresh indications of the divine will. The present was continually aglow with new discoveries of the counsel and the comfort of his Christ.

Spiritual Expectancy.—We too must stand a-tiptoe with spiritual expectancy. Mighty Kingdom movements are waiting until we stop brooding over the past and idolizing ancient religious experiences and turn with wonder and faith and love toward coming revelations and commissions from God. We must believe still in prophecy: the eternal Spirit still plays on the human soul and gives man new vision and new authority. The essential thing in religion, as in every other aspect of life, is not to have reached some particular point but to be on the move. In the infinite universe the spiritual roads have no final milestones. To keep our faces set toward the celestial city, to travel hope-

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fully, is a better thing than to have stopped at any hospitable spiritual caravansary along life's highways.

The Undreamed-of Good in Men.—It is when we cross social and racial boundaries that we discover an undreamed good in men. We never shall come to terms with the man or the community we wish to win unto Christ until we start with the good in them. We must approach the task of Kingdom building with the consciousness that men are of one blood. Nations are not great through victorious war. The conquering people have shed their own blood in the conquered. One blood runs in pauper and millionaire, in *Mayflower* posterity and the Slavic slave of toil, in Anglo-Saxon and the slant-eyed Japanese.

An Enlarging Conception of God.—Paul found a greater God in Athens than he knew in Jerusalem. The Deity whom he came to know in his journeyings and preaching lived on intimate terms not only with the Jew but also with the uncircumcised Greek. In him the heathen world also had its sustaining life. To enter sympathetically into the life of other churches and other religions is to discover a larger God than we hitherto have found in our sect. Their prayers ascend also to our God, and from him too come their impulses to good.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What was the leading theme of the earliest Christian preaching to the Jews?

2. What conception of the person of Jesus was held by (1) the Christian preacher and (2) the orthodox Jewish hearer?

3. What did Messiahship mean to the Jews?

4. In what way did early Christian preaching prove Jesus to be the Messiah?

5. Explain the emphasis given in the early preaching to the resurrection of Jesus.

6. What conditions led to the conviction that the death of Christ was necessary to salvation?

7. How did Paul explain the saving value of the death of Jesus Christ?

8. Who were the "God-fearing"?

9. What was the content of the preaching to the "God-fearing"?

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10. Why was the acceptance of the Messianic character of Jesus followed by forgiveness of sins?

11. Discuss the "God-fearing" at Thessalonica and Berea.

12. What were the nationality and religious beliefs of the pagan hearers of the early Christian preachers?

13. Discuss Paul's preaching to the Gentiles under the following topics: (a) the one true God's revelation of himself; (b) the value of idolatry; (c) the moral abasement of Gentile life; (d) the inevitable judgment; (e) the way of escape.

14. What elements in the Gentile world gave Paul's message its opportunity to grip the Gentile life?

15. How far was Paul fitted to reach both the common people and the cultured Greeks?

16. In what way did Paul's preaching to the Gentiles present a distinct advance in Kingdom conquest along social lines?

17. To what extent did the Jews and Greeks have a common basis for their religion?

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CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH OF THE CIRCUMCISION

AT about the year A. D. 50 there took place a conference between Paul and the leaders of the mother church at Jerusalem. In writing of this council to the Christians in Galatia, Paul distinguishes the gospel of the uncircumcision from the gospel of the circumcision. It appears from the second chapter of Galatians that the Christian community had split into two factions, and that henceforth there were to be two gospels and two churches instead of one. It seemed inevitable that there must be both a Jewish and a Gentile Christianity.

This chapter traces this widening breach, sets forth the content of Jewish Christianity, and estimates its contribution to the kingdom of God.

THE BREACH IN THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

Jewish Christians Versus Gentile.—The widespread preaching that followed the stoning of Stephen through certain Hellenistic Jewish Christians reached the Gentiles at Antioch (Acts 11. 20); and “the hand of the Lord” was with these adventurers who opened the door of the kingdom of God to the Gentile world. For these Hellenistic Jews, living at a distance from Jerusalem before their acceptance of Christianity, the ceremonial bonds of Judaism had been loosened, and it was not demanded of these Gentile converts that they should be circumcised. When Paul and Barnabas returned to Antioch, fresh from their triumph among the Gentiles of Galatia, a new impulse was given to the evangelization of the Gentiles in Antioch. Reports of these things reached Jerusalem, and certain of the Jewish Christians of that city, incensed at these irregularities, came to Antioch (Acts 15. 1) and insisted that the

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Jewish law was binding even upon Gentile Christians. The Jewish Christians up to this time were strict observers of Jewish law. They had made no break with Judaism. They continued to frequent the Temple. Indeed, at first they became more zealous for the traditions of their fathers because of their expectations of the speedy return of the Messiah.

The Church Conference at Jerusalem.—Acts 15. 2-5 gives the result of this visit of the Jerusalem Christians to Antioch. The conference at Jerusalem occurred about A. D. 50. Keep clearly in mind the nature of the dispute. Acts 15. 5 states the position of the stricter Jewish Christian party with reference to circumcision and the law. Paul's position may be gathered from the second chapter of Galatians and Acts 15. 19—namely, that Jewish law is not binding upon Gentile Christians. Paul seems at this time to have won absolutely his contention. The advocates of circumcision evidently demanded that Titus should be circumcised (Galatians 2. 3), but this demand was successfully resisted. Paul apparently was able to win from the heads of the Jerusalem church a full and friendly recognition of his position. He insists strongly that the pillars of Jewish Christianity laid no restrictions upon him (Galatians 2. 5, 6) and that they parted on the friendliest terms (2. 9, 10). The only requirement asked of Paul, as the apostle of Gentile Christianity, was the request that he should help relieve the necessities of his Jewish brethren in Jerusalem. Acts 15. 20 indicates that at this time a ceremonial restriction was laid upon the Gentile brethren. This statement can best be harmonized with Paul's positive declaration to the contrary by following the hint given in Acts 21. 18-26, especially verse 25. Here it seems that the Jewish Christian authorities, in asking Paul to conform to a Jewish ceremonial, urge that they have written to Gentile Christians imposing upon them a certain amount of Jewish ritualism as well as moral law. This is offered as something new to Paul and something that occurred at a later period than the council of A. D. 50.

The Dispute at Antioch.—After the friendly settlement

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in Jerusalem, Paul and Barnabas returned to Antioch. Shortly afterward Peter also arrived there. The fine feeling existing between Jewish and Gentile Christians in the church of this city charmed Peter, and he, with all other Christian Jews of the place, lived in intimate fellowship with the Gentile brethren. But again the stricter Jews came from Jerusalem, this time from James himself, and out of fear of these new visitors Peter and all other Jews broke off their Christian intimacy with the Gentiles. Even Barnabas likewise dissembled. Read closely Galatians 2. 11-21. Here occurred the second step in the breach of Gentilic Christianity with Christian Judaism. Paul's argument here is very keen. He points out that Peter and the other Jews, in breaking the regulations of Judaism by eating with Gentile Christians, have confessed in effect that men are justified before God not by observance of law but by their faith in Christ. The Jerusalem conference had conceded that the Gentiles were so justified. Henceforth Paul's gospel to the Jew was clear: "by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified." It was this double acting of Peter which vitiated the message of Jewish Christianity and freed Paul from the last obligation of Jewish law. Henceforth he set his face westward with one gospel for the whole world. He saw that Christianity could be a living power only in freedom from the unyielding grip of Judaism. "I do not make void the grace of God," he exclaimed: "for if righteousness is through the law, then Christ died for nought."

FACTIONS IN JEWISH CHRISTIANITY

Those Who Placed Faith in Christ Above the Obligations of the Law.—These could not have constituted a large party at first. The Jewish Christians at Antioch belonged to this group. Despite their temporary dissimulation under the leadership of Peter they soon returned to their former views. After the destruction of Jerusalem, Jewish Christianity in all the Greek coast towns passed over into the Gentilic type. Even Peter, judging by 1 Peter, eventually approximated Paul's positions. Such Jewish Christians,

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both by their views and by the fanaticism of their stricter brethren, were thrust out into Gentile Christianity.

Those Who Believed That the Law Was Binding Upon Jewish Christians but That the Gentile Christians Were Not Obligated by Its Provisions.—James and John were the leaders of this party.

Those Who Believed That Jewish Law Was Obligatory Upon All Christians.—Acts 6. 7; 15. 5; 21. 20 indicate the reason for this stricter Jewish party and the extent of its influence. It was this party which, refusing to be bound by the conference of A. D. 50, dogged the footsteps of Paul to the end of his days.

(a) *These Judaizers followed Paul first to Galatia.*—These men boldly attacked both Paul's gospel and his apostolate. They claimed that it was a false gospel, and that Paul was without authority to conduct a mission among Gentiles. They said that he was trying to please men (Galatians 1. 10); that he sometimes had preached circumcision (5. 11); that he was the enemy of his converts (4. 16). They demanded that these Gentile Christians must be circumcised (5. 12; 6. 13). Paul justifies his gospel by its effect upon his own life (1. 11-17), by the fact that it was a revelation from Christ himself (1. 12), that he had won for it the approval of the Jerusalem authorities (2. 9), and that it had been eminently fruitful in transforming the lives of the Gentiles (3. 5; 5. 7).

(b) *They pursued him to Corinth.*—Bringing letters of introduction (2 Corinthians 3. 1) and boasting in their Jewish Christianity—the only true Christianity (11. 22)—they declare that Paul is no apostle (11. 5; 12. 11-13); that the gospel he proclaims is difficult and mysterious (4. 3); that Paul is rude in speech (11. 6); that he can write sharply and boldly, but when face to face with men his speech is humble, and his demeanor cowardly (10. 1); that he is crafty, catches men with guile (12. 16); that he corrupts those who listen to him, taking advantage of the simple-minded (7. 2); that he prides himself on taking no money from the Corinthians but is secretly supported by other churches (11. 7, 8); and that he is guilty of shame-

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ful things in secret (4. 2). Paul justly denounces these Judaizers as false apostles: the hypocrites have no authority for their propaganda—they have fashioned themselves into apostles (11. 13). They preach another Jesus and a different gospel (11. 4). Paul justifies his apostolate by (1) his sacrifices for the gospel (11. 23-33), (2) his revelations from Christ (12. 1-15), and (3) the fruits of his ministry among them (12. 12, 13).

LATER HISTORY OF THE JERUSALEM CHURCH

THE CHURCH LEADERS

At A. D. 50.—It appears (Acts 12. 17) that James came to the headship of the church eight or nine years previously during the persecution of the Christians by King Agrippa I. Pilate, the Roman procurator of Judea at the time of the crucifixion, was deprived of office in A. D. 36. Other Roman governors took his place until 41, when Agrippa was made king of Judea by the emperor Claudius. Agrippa died in 44. Once more Roman governors ruled the land. Felix was procurator from 52 to 60. Festus (60-62) succeeded Felix and died in office. During these years there was continual friction between the Jews and their governors. Affairs passed continually from bad to worse. Florus (64-66) appropriated the Temple treasures and so precipitated the Jewish uprising against Rome which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem (A. D. 70). The horrors of the siege are vividly described by Josephus.

During the Rule of Agrippa I.—The apostles now seem to have set out on their long-delayed mission to evangelize the world. Where they traveled or to whom they preached, with the exception of John, is unknown. Paul is aware that they are in the field with their wives (1 Corinthians 9. 5) but he does not indicate the place of their labors. It is almost evident that their preaching was confined to the Jews. In Galatians 2. 9 Paul affirms that the pillars of the Jerusalem church regarded the Jewish mission as peculiarly their own and he gives no hint that this agreement ever was violated. That John in his later years was a

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resident of Ephesus is the universal testimony of the earliest church fathers. That Andrew is the patron saint of Russia, Greece, and Scotland shows the value of the traditions concerning the other apostles.

After the Martyrdom of James.—James suffered martyrdom about A. D. 61. He was succeeded by another relative of Jesus, his cousin Simeon, the son of Cleopas.¹ After him there was a succession of leaders or bishops of the mother church who strictly clung to the observance of Jewish ceremonial law. When the Roman army approached Jerusalem, the Christians withdrew from the city (Matthew 24. 15-21), passed over the Jordan, and took up residence at Pella, one of the Greek cities of the Decapolis.² From this city Jewish Christianity, in the course of time, spread into other districts and lingered along the Jordan and the Dead Sea until the fourth century.

SECTS OF THE LATER JEWISH CHURCH

Jewish Christianity Loses Its Vitality.—Up until the middle of the second century Jewish Christians undoubtedly formed the great majority of believers in Palestine and they must have continued for at least another century their attempts to bring Gentile Christians into observance of the customs of Judaism; but Jewish Christianity eventually lost its vitality through its insistence that Christianity was a purified Judaism and, therefore, a national religion. It was the fate of this branch of the Christian Church to break up into sects that eventually became lost into Gentile Christianity, into Judaism, or into Mohammedanism.

The Way They Went.—The divisions within Jewish Christianity in Paul's day maintained themselves at least for another century after the conference in Jerusalem. Justin Martyr, who wrote about A. D. 140, in discussing Jewish Christianity makes this clear. During this period the terms "Nazarene" and "Ebionite" seem to have been applied with little distinction to Jewish Christians. The

¹ *Church History*, Eusebius, Volume III, Chapter II.

² *Ibid.*, Chapter V.

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latter word, meaning "the poor," was either applied to them by their enemies in ridicule of their poverty or assumed by themselves to express the fact that they were "the poor in spirit," as commanded by Jesus. Irenæus, who died about 200, applies the name "Ebionite" to a sect of Jewish Christians who now differed so much in their views from the prevailing Christian beliefs that they were regarded as heretics. They still regarded the observance of Jewish law as essential to salvation. Origen (died about 250), Eusebius (died about 340), and Jerome (died about 420) all evidence the breaking up of Jewish Christianity. Those among them who more nearly approximated orthodox Christianity were probably absorbed into the Syriac-speaking Christian churches. The various heretical forms must have lingered on till the time of Mohammed and become absorbed in the faith of Islam.

JEWISH CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

The Epistle of James.—The date of this letter is uncertain, but it seems to have been written before the breach between Jewish and Gentile Christianity was embittered by the Judaizers who dogged the footsteps of Paul; or else James, making little reference to the Gentiles, wished to express his loyalty to the agreement that the pillars of the Jerusalem church should confine their ministry to the Jew. Observe that here, as in the preaching of Peter, Jesus is the Messiah (James 1. 1; 2. 1) and that he is the "Lord of glory"—that is, he has passed through death, is resurrected, and has ascended into heaven. Note the writer's loyalty to the law (2. 8-13; 4. 11, 12). The emphasis upon works is the Jewish emphasis upon ethical deeds (2. 14-26). The faults James condemns are the customary Jewish faults that Jesus also denounced. Compare the emphasis in this Epistle upon love, mercy, and helpful ministry (1. 26, 27; 2. 15, 16; 5. 1-6) with the teaching of Jesus (Matthew 12. 7; 15. 2-9; 23, 23). James feels the selfsame spirit of brotherhood which Jesus made fundamental in the kingdom of God.

The Second Epistle of Peter.—This letter was written to

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those Christians unto whom the apostles themselves, or at least some of them, had proclaimed the gospel (2 Peter 1. 16; 3. 2). This would limit it to Jewish Christians (Galatians 2. 9) and without doubt to the Jewish church in Palestine, since there is no hint in Paul's letters either that the agreement of the Jerusalem conference was broken, or that any of the Twelve passed beyond the limits of Palestine during Paul's lifetime. If Peter did reach Rome during Paul's imprisonment, this letter may have been written about A.D. 63. Here too are to be noticed those references to Jewish history and tradition which would not have been intelligible to Gentiles (2 Peter 2. 5, 6, 7, 15), the angelology (2. 4, 11), the taunt concerning the Messiah's advent which would come with keener thrust from Jews (3. 4). Since these evil-minded persons against whom the Jewish Christian readers of this Epistle are warned are Christian brethren (2. 13), and since such fellowship would have been impossible between Gentiles and those Jewish Christians unto whom the apostles had proclaimed the gospel, there is sufficient evidence to believe that Peter, who belonged to the liberal group of Jewish Christians, is here arraigning those among the church of the circumcision who, with time, became more and more reactionary toward Judaism.

The Epistle of Jude.—This letter is an impassioned warning to Jewish Christians against evil and heretical teachers. This letter was written, with great probability, within a few years after the destruction of Jerusalem. Such an event was calculated to be the beginning of the wilder Ebionite and Gnostic defections from orthodox Jewish beliefs. The commonly believed views of Christ are being assailed (verse 4); these heretical views are held by those whose lives are morally culpable (verses 16, 18). Jude, who had preached among Jews (1 Corinthians 9. 5; Galatians 2. 9), was planning a longer treatise for the churches unto which he had ministered (verses 3, 17), but this work was interrupted by the sudden danger that threatened the life of his brethren. That the readers of this letter were Jewish Christians is evident. They were Chris-

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tians (verses 1, 4). That they were Jews is seen from the many references to Jewish literature which were unknown or obscure to Gentiles. Observe also the distinctly Jewish angelology (verses 6, 14).

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.—This book, also called "Didache" (a teaching), was discovered in manuscript in 1873 in a monastery at Constantinople. Although it is no larger than the Epistle to the Galatians it throws a great deal of light on the early church. The first six chapters are known as "The Two Ways." This portion is believed to have been in circulation by A. D. 70. The entire book was written not later than 90. Undoubtedly it is a product of Jewish Christianity, after the spirit of James and the early Christian community described in the first chapters of Acts. It gives us a picture of the worship, the ministry, and the ethical teachings of this Jewish Christianity which, although feeling itself a spiritualized Judaism, looked sympathetically upon the mission to the Gentiles. It therefore possessed sufficient catholic spirit to have commended it in wider fields than in the Palestinian church of its origin. The Apostolic Church Ordinance, which circulated in Egypt about A. D. 400, is an adaptation of the Didache. The Apostolic Constitutions (fourth or fifth century A. D.), containing "The Two Ways" almost verbatim, evidence the widely extended influence of this early Jewish-Christian book.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

The Literary Contribution of the Church of the Circumcision to the Kingdom.—The church of the circumcision has put the entire Christian world in its debt on account of its literature. Greater than the works discussed above are the Gospels. Matthew, Mark, and John were members and missionaries of the mother church, and their preservation and publication of the sayings and deeds of Jesus are a priceless gift, sufficient to immortalize these writers forever. Apart from any spoken gospel these writings of the Jewish Christian Church have had and still must have an incalculable power to awaken the human con-

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science, to fashion loftier ideals, and to quicken in men fellowship with God. To estimate their transforming power in the language, literature, and social conceptions of mankind is impossible.

The Contribution of Moral and Social Education.—Jewish Christianity, during its comparatively short-lived existence, contributed powerfully to the moral and social education of the world. Take as an example the strong urging of James that the spirit of Christian brotherhood is to be expressed in deeds. He calls the command "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" "the royal law" (James 2. 8) and then demands its visible fulfillment. Not only must the old Mosaic commandments be kept by the Christian brotherhood, but external conditions such as wealth must introduce no distinctions among brethren. This Jewish Christianity sounds the ancient Hebrew social note with undiminished vigor. Religion that believes and does not act, which prays and never labors, is barren. "By works a man is justified, and not only by faith" (2. 24). Wisdom, too, is expressed not in words primarily but in good deeds (3. 13). Profits unfairly withheld by the capitalist constitute him a murderer (5. 6). True religion is social service and individual morality (1. 27).

The Spirit of Ethical Brotherhood.—Every extant fragment even of these Jewish Christian writings breathes this spirit of ethical brotherhood. St. Jerome preserves a saying from the so-called Nazarene Gospel: "Never be glad except when you look with love at your brother." Origen hands down to us a similar social feeling in a quotation from a lost "Gospel of the Hebrews." It is a part of the reply of Jesus to the rich young man who claimed that he had kept the commandments: "How do you say, 'I have done the Law and the Prophets'? For it is written in the Law, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself,' and lo, there are many brothers of yours, sons of Abraham, clothed in filth, dying of hunger, while your house is full of many goods, and nothing at all goes out of it to them." The Apostolic Constitutions, which carry the teaching of "The Two Ways" into the Gentile Christianity of the

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fourth century, declare, "Thou shalt not say thy goods are thine own, for the common participation of the necessities of life is appointed to all men by God." Compare the following list of evils, taken from "The Two Ways," with those condemned in Romans 1. 29-31 and Galatians 5. 19-21: "The Way of Death is known by its wicked practices: murders, adulteries, fornications, perjuries, unlawful lusts, thefts, idolatries, magic arts, witchcrafts, rapines, false witnesses, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, deceit, pride, malice, insolence, covetousness, obscene talk, jealousy, haughtiness, arrogance, impudence, persecution of the good, enmity to truth, love of lies, ignorance of righteousness." Paul's intense moral consciousness is a Jewish inheritance.

The Religion of the Kingdom Ethicized.—It is the glory of the Hebrew religion and of Christianity that religion is thoroughly ethicized. We need only turn to the primitive religious beliefs of native Africans or the religious practices of non-Christian India and China to realize the incomparable glory of our Christian heritage. It was the moral teaching of Judaism broadened, spiritualized, and given a depth of social feeling by Jesus which finds expression in the more liberal Jewish Christian communities and, through them, becomes the ethical basis of Christianity's appeal to the world. This is glory enough for any people. It is a far step in the long coming kingdom of God.

THE WANDERING JEW

Hammered Into Thinking.—It is not the confetti but the hammer that hits a man which sets him thinking and acting. We have Galatians and 2 Corinthians because Paul was hammered. Those sincere legalists who dogged the steps of Paul from city to city and land to land drove him out of legalism into Christ. Dead to law, alive in Christ, is the gospel into which their persecution drove him. No slight "peace out of pain" this; no faint-scented rose blooming in the midst of thorns.

For a Cause.—It is every man's duty to be sincere and to feel strongly. It is only such who sacrifice for a cause. It

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takes a cause to create heroic life. A poor cause is better than none. These Jews who tramped to Antioch in pursuit of Paul did not live vainly. It was a weary trail they took, and Paul outran them. But our Tarsian evangelist undoubtedly was chased by them into a world-challenging interpretation of his Damascus experience. Never damn the man who persecutes you. It may be God has loaned him his hammer for your good.

On Our Trail.—But these troublers of the Gentile Israel were not the only Jewish wanderers: the Hebrew's royal law has dogged us through the centuries. It has given man no rest. It gives the Christian no quiet now. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor"—not his wife nor her husband—"as thyself." What a royal law it is! Thou shalt love thy poor neighbor, thy rich neighbor, thy ignorant neighbor, thy dirty neighbor, thy criminal neighbor, thy crazy neighbor, thy brutal, covetous, stingy neighbor, as thyself. My God, what an awful law this is! It breaks up our selfishness, our self-complacency, our sense of perfection. It humbles us in shame. Must we be dragged down to the level of living neighborly with all people, black and yellow, by this dog of a wandering Jewish law? God help us; we too must fall into the arms of Jesus Christ.

A Moral Pointed.—The Twelve in their wanderings also point a moral. Sent to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," they themselves were lost. "Ye shall not have gone through the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come." Twice lost, who knows precisely where they proclaimed their risen Messianic Lord? Who knows the testing of their faith by his delayed coming? Wanderers out into a double darkness, forgotten, lost! Lost? No, a thousand times no! No good deed is ever lost; no earnest soul ever is crushed by darkness. From every village the Twelve entered there streamed forth love and light into the farthest corner of the world. The sick they healed have sent the radiant rays of their faith through the centuries. The synagogues where they were scourged, the tribunals where their mission was challenged, the house which closed its door against them, have but testified by their persecution

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to the glory of their lives. No good deed ever dies; no good life ever is silenced; no true faith ever loses its shining.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Why were Hellenistic Jews best fitted to be missionaries to the Gentiles?
2. Discuss the subject of debate at the Jerusalem conference of A. D. 50. State the position taken by Paul, James, and John.
3. Why did the stricter Jews make the demands they did?
4. What effect did the outcome have on the Gentile branch of the Christian Church?
5. What was the difference in the position taken by the three factions in Jewish Christianity?
6. Who were some of the leaders of the Jerusalem church at A. D. 50? during the rule of Agrippa I? after the death of James?
7. How came Jewish Christianity to lose its power?
8. Where did this wing of the early church go?
9. Which of the New-Testament writings come under this head?
10. Discuss them as Jewish writings.
11. In what way did the literature of the church of the circumcision contribute to the Kingdom's progress?
12. Which of the Gospel writers were members of the mother church?
13. What moral and social values do the Jewish Christian writings emphasize?

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS

- The Apostolic Age*, McGiffert, pages 549-88.
The Church of the Apostles, Ragg, pages, 69-95.
The Wars of the Jews, Josephus, Books, V-VI.
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The Mission and Expansion of Christianity, Harnack, Volume II, pages 97-120.

CHAPTER VI

THE MORAL PROBLEMS OF A GENTILE PARISH

FROM occasional references in preceding chapters it may be seen that Christianity had a far greater ethical task in Gentile communities than in Jewish circles. Since it was the church of the uncircumcision which carried the Christian conception of the kingdom of God beyond Jewish boundaries into the world's life, it is very important to understand the social evils this rising Gentile Christianity faced and the manner in which it conquered them.

PAGAN CORINTH

The Location of Corinth.—Corinth undoubtedly possessed the most commanding position in Greece. Situated on the northern slope of the steep mountain Acrocorinthus, which rose eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea, and within a few miles of the narrow isthmus that joins the Peloponnesus to northern Greece, Corinth commanded the highways from north to south and east to west. Corinth controlled two harbors. Lecheum, on the Corinthian Gulf, with which ancient Corinth was connected by walls, was the port for the trade of Italy. Cenchrea, a few miles distant, across the isthmus on the Saronic Gulf, was the shipping point for the east. On account of the difficult navigation in rounding the Peloponnesus, merchants coming from Asia and from Italy found it desirable to use these ports and transport their lading by land from the one to the other. Corinth collected toll on all imports and exports. This commerce and the Isthmian games celebrated at Corinth every second year brought vast numbers to the city, gave it a cosmopolitan population, and made it wealthy.

Corinth's Slave Population.—Such a city was sure to become demoralized in a day when there were no strong

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forces working for the regeneration of society. The worst from Asia Minor, Egypt, and Rome found a home in Corinth. This city was the first to introduce into the Greek world those gladiatorial combats which became the fashion of Rome but which were so repugnant to the Greeks. The only actual traces of an amphitheater in the Greek world are said to be at Corinth.¹ Like that of other cities of its time its population was largely a slave population. At one time there were four hundred and sixty thousand slaves living in Corinth. In Greece, except at Athens, the slave had no rights and enjoyed no protection from the brutality of his master.

Licentious Conditions in Corinth.—Sexual licentiousness was greatly accentuated in Corinth by the worship of Aphrodite. Strabo, who knew the Corinth of Paul's day, wrote that the temple of this goddess had more than a thousand women, courtesans, dedicated to her service, and that the city was enriched by the multitudes who resorted thither on account of these women. Masters of ships and soldiers rich with the booty of war frequented the city and freely squandered all their money upon these harlots. So notorious was the profligacy, and so large were the sums spent in sensuality, that the proverb arose: "Every man cannot go to Corinth." Plutarch writes with little concern of the excessive prostitution of his times. Fornication was scarcely incompatible with good manners. While the Greek wife was kept indoors and was commonly faithful to her husband, no shame attached to any relation between either married or single men with those women who lived by their bodies.

THE FOUNDING OF THE CHURCH AT CORINTH

Paul's Problem at Corinth.—Read Acts 18. 1-18. Paul arrived in Corinth apparently in the autumn of A. D. 50 or 51—perhaps as late as 53. According to custom Paul preached Christ in the synagogue. For some weeks there was no open break with the Jews. Emboldened by the pres-

¹ *The Silver Age in the Greek World*, Mahaffy, page 321.

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ence of Silas and Timothy, Paul made his position so clear that fellowship with the synagogal community was no longer possible. His preaching, however, won certain notable converts. Observe the service rendered Paul by the Roman proconsul Gallio. This Gallio was the older brother of Seneca, the famous Roman moral philosopher. The church at Corinth was made up largely of the Gentile population, whose moral failures have been sketched above. Note the list of wrongdoers condemned in 1 Corinthians 6. 9, 10, and observe Paul's words: "And such were some of you." In the light of these prevalent sins consider the ethical task of Christianity to construct an exemplary Christian community.

Pastoral Supervision by Letter.—Paul set sail from Cenchrea for Ephesus (Acts 18. 18 f.) after an eighteen-month ministry in Corinth. However, he did not lose touch with or interest in Corinth. Sailings were frequent between these cities; and as there must have been merchants and seamen among the Corinthian Christians, Paul kept informed concerning the church which up to this time had engrossed so much of his labor. He was visited during his three years' stay in Ephesus at different times by Christians from Corinth (1 Corinthians 1. 11; 16. 17), and several letters passed between Paul and this church. There are records of four such letters written by Paul. First Corinthians 5. 9 refers to the first of these four letters. This Epistle is no longer extant. It is believed, however, that 2 Corinthians 6. 14 to 7. 1 is a fragment of this lost letter, which has become embedded in 2 Corinthians. Compare the subject referred to in 1 Corinthians 5. 9 with the theme treated in 2 Corinthians 6. 14 to 7. 1. It is easy to believe that this latter section is indeed a portion of this lost first Epistle. Paul's second letter to the Corinthian church is our present 1 Corinthians. This letter was occasioned by tidings of disorders in the Corinthian church (1 Corinthians 1. 11) and by certain questions put to Paul in a letter from the Christian community in Corinth (1 Corinthians 7. 1). After the writing of this letter Paul sent Timothy to Corinth to correct the evils dealt with in

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the letter (1 Corinthians 4. 17; 16. 10, 11). Paul expected to visit Corinth soon and to put right the disorders that were scandalizing the church (1 Corinthians 4. 19, 21).

Paul's Second Visit to Corinth.—In the meantime the Judaizers arrived in Corinth (2 Corinthians 3. 1), and Paul made this promised second visit (2 Corinthians 12. 14; 13. 1). Neither Timothy nor Paul was able to discipline the headstrong church, and this visit of the apostle was not a happy one (2 Corinthians 2. 1). During the one or two months of this visit he seems to have been worsted by his adversaries and returned to Ephesus discouraged and disheartened. In the midst of affliction, anguish, and weeping Paul wrote a third letter to the Corinthians (2 Corinthians 2. 4; 7. 8). This letter accomplished what his presence had been unable to do (2 Corinthians 7. 8-16): Church discipline and Paul's authority were restored among the Corinthian Christians.

Paul's Joy Restored: His Third Visit.—There is good reason for believing that this third letter is now a part of our 2 Corinthians. Read 2 Corinthians, chapters 10 to 13, in the light of the situation sketched above and consider whether this section does not fill the requirements of the supposedly lost letter. The Judaizers, taking advantage of the factions in the church and the inexperience of these Christians, had attacked the gospel preached by both Paul and his apostolate. This attack, coupled with the insubordination of the church in regard to expelling him who was guilty of incest, compelled Paul to justify his whole ministry among them. Not long after writing his third letter the riot occurred at Ephesus, and Paul, anxious to learn more of the situation at Corinth, set out toward Macedonia (Acts 20. 1). Evidently he had arranged to meet Titus, who had carried this third letter to Corinth at Troas (2 Corinthians 2. 13; 7. 13). But, not finding him there, he journeyed on with heaviness of spirit along the way Titus was to come to meet him. Somewhere in Macedonia Paul and Titus met, and the apostle was informed of the success of his third letter. The burden of his sorrow and anxiety was lifted, and joyfully he sent his fourth letter

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to the church that had cost him so much pain. This fourth Epistle is our 2 Corinthians with the exception of the sections assigned above to previous letters. After dispatching this letter Paul passed on to Corinth, where he abode some three months. Thence he returned through Macedonia on his way to Jerusalem. Thus, Paul's guidance of the Christian community of Corinth extended through a period of about five years.

THE CONFLICT WITH THE DECADENT MORALS OF PAGANISM

The Personnel of the Corinthian Church.—What is known of Crispus? (1 Corinthians 1. 14; Acts 18. 8); of Gaius? (Romans 16. 23; 1 Corinthians 1. 14); of Erastus? (Romans 16. 23); of Stephanas? (1 Corinthians 1. 16; 16. 17). It is conjectured that Stephanas was somewhat well to do, and that Fortunatus and Achaicus were his slaves. Certain women prominent enough to be named also belonged to this church. Chloe (1 Corinthians 1. 11) evidently was a woman of substance, and Phœbe, who lived at Cenchrea (Romans 16. 1), a woman of distinction. Yet these converts were the exception. The majority of the Corinthian church were not from the Jews but from Gentiles (1 Corinthians 12. 2) and from the poor and ignorant (1 Corinthians 1. 26). Many of them had been guilty of the grosser evils of pagan society (1 Corinthians 1. 28; 6. 9-11). Paul faced at Corinth a far different task than confronted the missionaries of the church of the circumcision, and much more difficult than he hitherto had met in the Gentile world.

The Development of a Christian Conscience in Matters of Sex.—With converts drawn from the licentious cesspool of Corinthian life the wonder is not that lust appears in the Corinthian church and is defended by the church, but that a Christian community could be raised up in the midst of this degenerate pagan society. After eighteen months in Corinth even Paul states that the Christian who proposes to cut off all dealings with fornicators would by

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such decision have to quit the world (1 Corinthians 5. 9). Consider in these circumstances the case of incest which appeared in the Corinthian church (1 Corinthians 5. 1-2). Paul demands that this guilty man shall be expelled from the church (1 Corinthians 5. 3-8). We have seen that neither Timothy nor Paul was able to induce the church to discipline its guilty member. This bold instance of lust did not stand alone: others of the church still practiced their pagan immorality (2 Corinthians 12. 21; 7. 1). After Paul's third letter was written, the Corinthians finally expelled the man in question. This action brought him to his senses, and on repentance and upon the recommendation of Paul he was received again into church fellowship (2 Corinthians 2. 5-11).

Paul Discusses Marriage.—In connection with this sex licentiousness Paul discusses the question of marriage. He could not so frankly have discussed the married life had he not been dealing with converts only a little removed from the debasing practices of Corinthian life. The Christian ideal of marriage is the fidelity of husband and wife to each other (1 Corinthians 7. 1-7). The widely prevailing and little-condemned practice of fornication on the part of married men must be given up; it cannot be tolerated by Christian ethics. There was also the question of marriages in which one of the parties was yet a pagan. If 2 Corinthians 6. 14 was a part of Paul's first letter, he may well have raised the question he answers in 1 Corinthians 7. 12-16. In verse 15 does Paul base the permitted divorce upon moral grounds or upon difference of religious beliefs? Does Paul justify divorce for reasons other than it was permitted in the teaching of Jesus? Observe that Paul encourages widows and maids to remain unmarried. On occasion of new marriage Paul insists upon community of faith (1 Corinthians 7. 39).

The Development of the Christian Ethics of Property.—Not only did the earliest group of Corinthian Christians contain fornicators (1 Corinthians 5. 11) but the new members did not rid themselves immediately of their former business practices. There were yet among them

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some who were covetous and extortioners (1 Corinthians 5. 11, 13). Such men were sure to enter into suits before the civil courts to maintain their supposed interests. Read 1 Corinthians 6. 1-10. Although Paul advocated no communistic ideals he never ceased to insist that the Christian community was a brotherhood, and that all property interests must be dealt with in the light of this ideal. This spirit was woefully lacking in the common meal eaten by the congregation in connection with the Eucharist. It was not the democratic fellowship which Paul evidently had designed on the model of the twelve apostles (1 Corinthians 11. 21, 22) but its mockery; wherein the wealthier were gorged and drunken, and the poor went hungry. Close reading of the Epistles to the Corinthians indicates that Paul had a great deal of trouble to get these people to feel any bond with other Christian communities. Especially were they disinclined to contribute to the relief of the needy church in Palestine.

Slavery.—Read 1 Corinthians 7. 20-24. Why did not this Christian gospel set itself to the emancipation of the slave? To determine this consider (1) the general Christian expectation of the nearness of the second coming of Christ to set up the new social order of the kingdom of God on earth (1 Corinthians 7. 29-32; Matthew 10. 23; Revelation 22. 10-12); and (2) Paul's consciousness of such an inner heightening and enrichment of life in Christ (Galatians 2. 20) that outward circumstances possess indifferent valuation: the slave becomes free in Christ (1 Corinthians 7. 22 f.), and the master becomes Christ's slave. When this latter principle is truly grasped, and the expectation of Christ's speedy return no longer operates, what would be the effect on human slavery of the proclamation of the Christian gospel?

Social Relations With Paganism.—There was no immediate alteration in the external conditions of these Corinthian Christians. They lived in the same houses, had the same neighbors, were confronted daily with the same civic life. Not all their relatives turned Christian. Most of their friends were still immersed in paganism. Must they

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no more have company with idolaters and accept no invitations to dinner (1 Corinthians 10. 27)? Then must they indeed "go out of the world." It was not easy to break these old ties. If 2 Corinthians 6. 14 to 7. 1 is a fragment of Paul's lost first letter, Paul at first demanded that Christians should have no dealing with pagans. He never withdrew his main contention that Christianity and idolatry are utterly incompatible (1 Corinthians 10. 7, 14). He denies that sacrifices offered to idols are sacrifices offered to Deity; they are offered to demons (1 Corinthians 10. 19-21), and with demons Christians must have nothing to do. Therefore, banquets in pagan temples, which were connected with sacrifices, are forbidden to the Christian (1 Corinthians 8. 10; 10. 21). Paul in his second communication with the Corinthians on this vexed question of social affairs does not forbid Christians to accept invitations to dinner given by their pagan friends, but he at least hints that it may not be advisable to accept them (1 Corinthians 10. 27). Undoubtedly the meat on a pagan man's table had been killed as a sacrifice; but if this fact were not expressly pointed out, and the intimation made that a Christian ought to refrain from such meat (1 Corinthians 10. 27, 28), there was no obligation to avoid such foods. In the same way a Christian might purchase the food at the market (1 Corinthians 10. 25). However, if any Christian believes it wrong to eat such flesh, the true Christian will eat no such meat for his brother's sake (1 Corinthians 8. 13). In all such matters there is only one deciding principle: All that the Christian does must be done to the glory of God (1 Corinthians 10. 31; 8. 9).

PROBLEMS OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE

Factions in the Church at Corinth.—Examine 1 Corinthians 1. 10-12; 3. 4; 2 Corinthians 12. 20, and consider the extent to which the Corinthian church was afflicted with party divisions. Upon what had Paul sought to base the faith and experience of the Corinthian church? (1 Corinthians 1. 18, 23; 2. 2; 15. 1-4). In rallying around party

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names they seem to be glorying in the preacher and boasting in some special teaching which is their possession alone. These party leaders do not know all: all their finest wisdom seems foolishness in comparison with the wisdom of God (3. 18-23). Therefore, no teacher or minister should be made a party leader. Glory in no man: rather make all their teaching yours and humbly draw near to Christ. Observe another argument of Paul (1 Corinthians 4. 1-5) to reduce these divisions. There is only one foundation, and the day comes when the steward-builder of the Church of God will meet a searching judgment (3. 10-15). Even Paul, conscious of no fault, must await this judgment of God (4. 4). Finally consider whether Paul (4. 6-17) means that these factions believe that later teachers brought the Corinthians something fundamental to the faith which they did not receive from Paul.

The Position of Woman.—Read again 1 Corinthians 11. 2-16. What is Paul's fundamental position regarding woman's rights? What reason is given by Paul for the veiling of woman? What is Paul's argument for the wearing of long hair by women? Examine 1 Corinthians 14. 34, 35. Was Paul here giving expression to Jewish or Gentile views? It should be remembered that in Paul's day respectable Greek married women were forbidden to visit the theater or heathen temples unveiled. The woman of loose morals went everywhere with uncovered face.

Disorders in Connection With the Eucharist.—Examine 1 Corinthians 11. 17-34. Note the custom of a common meal followed by the Holy Communion. What practice does Paul here condemn? What is the reason for this want of fraternalism? What remedy does Paul propose? What contribution does his proposal make to Christian social ethics?

Disorders in Public Worship.—Read attentively 1 Corinthians 12. 1-31 and consider whether or not the spiritual exaltation that these Corinthian Christians experienced tended toward the advantage or the disadvantage of Christian morals. To what extent would the possession of such powers as indicated in 12. 8-10

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make for pride, egotism, insubordination, the want of emphasis upon immoral acts, and the neglect of the normal expressions of religion in business, social fellowships, and the family, for abnormal and unusual ecstasies? To what extent does Paul encourage healings, miracles, prophecies, and speaking in tongues? What relative value does he assign to those various exercises of religion? What direction would Paul have our Christian enthusiasm take? How far is this a genuine and permanent contribution to the ethics of religious emotion?

The Resurrection of the Body.—Read 1 Corinthians 15. 1-58. Examine 15. 1-12, 29, and state what teaching concerning the resurrection of the body had been a part of Paul's preaching in Corinth. In determining this consider whether the discussion in this fifteenth chapter is new material or a restatement of what Paul previously had taught them. Consult 7. 1; 15. 1-3, and state whether a doubt or denial of the resurrection of Jesus or of the possibility of a resurrection from the dead had arisen in the Corinthian church, and, if so, what could have caused this questioning of Paul's preaching. Compare with this chapter 1 Thessalonians 4. 13 f. What was Paul's teaching concerning the resurrection of Christians? of non-Christians? Was the doctrine of the resurrection a new belief for the Gentiles? What was the value of this belief for the task of the ethical reconstruction of the Gentile world?

THE SOURCE OF THIS ETHICAL POWER

It is evident that the Christian preaching in Corinth introduced into the city a new ethical life. Christianity brought new moral ideals to the masses of the Gentile world and furnished a new strength to live toward these ideals. The object and end of Christ's death were to bring men into a new life with God (1 Corinthians 1. 30; 2 Corinthians 5. 15), a life that rose into new moral expression. It was the conviction that God had opened to man a fellowship; or, rather, that this Christ, who had died and

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risen from the grave, came into the believer's life and possessed it so thoroughly (2 Corinthians 5. 17; Galatians 2. 20) that a new life really was constituted in the Christian's soul. Such an experience, such a communion with God, brought to the Gentile convert such a spiritual heightening of life that not only were new moral values of conduct created, but also new powers of feeling and will were created which made the Christian believer the victor over the common and contemptible impulses of the world.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

A New Evaluation and Achievement of Life.—Paul's ministry in Corinth was a distinct and powerful contribution to the developing kingdom of God. The evils of paganism were unusually accented in this commercial capital. Into this licentious, litigious, cosmopolitan, self-assertive, slave-holding, and slave-held population a new evaluation and achievement of life dawned in the ministry of Paul. Christian preaching in Corinth was done in the expectation of the near destruction of the nations and the realized glory of God's kingdom; yet the gospel, in summoning the individual to set his house in order for this judgment, called him to such a thoroughgoing reconstruction of his life that the whole social order of which he was a part was inevitably affected: so that it was wrought out at Corinth more clearly than in any previously evangelized city that Christianity must set itself also to the reconstruction of the social order. This was being accomplished in Corinth by creating a new society within the boundaries of paganism through the calling of individuals out of the old life into the new.

Christianity United Religion and Ethics.—The immediate severance with paganism was along two lines: (1) sex relationships and (2) idolatry. But the principles here laid down of righteousness, justice, and love must in time either soften the inequalities of wealth and slavery or else be slighted and denied. Christianity in Corinth, in the spirit of the Hebrew prophets and of Jesus, firmly united religion and ethics. It was this grounding of morality in religion

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and this evaluation of religion in moral terms which eventually undermined the old social order of the empire.

SUNRISE

Paul, Herald of Sunrise.—Dawn is nature's most fascinating miracle. The first sure hints of a radiant June day are pale-green waves of dawn flooding the summit of hills. Then, steadily within a half hour, faint rose tints fill the green sea and turn the dark islands of the upper sky into torchbearers of day. The moon slowly dims in a sky eagerly turning blue. Birds begin their accustomed matins. Steadily the transformation into open day goes on: clouds of rare beauty, ships with golden sails, float up the sea of growing light. The horizon turns pink and brightly red—then, lo! the King of day appears to rule his empire of a world. The ministry of Paul was God's sunrise in the Greek world.

Religion an Endless Impulse to Moral Achievement.—Is it not a rare dawn to discover that religion is an endless impulse to moral achievement? The ethical life of an individual and of the community never yet has reached its final triumph. Does your religion impel you to new ethical convictions? Is it endlessly classifying new wrongs for you? Fornication and idolatry were little or no wrong in Corinth until this Christian tentmaker moved into that city. What old views and practices has your religion now made impossible for you? If you should give the Spirit of Christ full sway in your life, what moral changes would still take place in you and in your friends?

False Courtesy.—Where is the denser darkness of our lives? Does it not lie across our social relationships? The Corinthian Christian was in the greatest danger when he became a guest. It is the social convention still, making its appeal to our sense of courtesy, which dims the witness that ever should be uttered by the Christian. It is the social glass of beer or wine, the social game of cards, the dance of the social set, which has clouded the sunrise in many a life. We do not wish to be queer, old-fashioned,

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considered rude or indifferent to the efforts of our host and hostess to entertain us. We commit moral suicide to appear polite. There are no homes in which it is not lawful for a true follower of Jesus Christ to be a guest; but there are many homes in which it is not expedient. It is better to lose membership in a club than to lose one's soul.

The Day Dawns When Life Centers Round the Will of God.—"Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." Life does not lower in limiting desire to the direction of the divine will. It blossoms. It unfolds. It bursts into glory. New ethical vision has come when the Christian says, "All things are lawful; but not all things are expedient." It is the unencumbered runner who reaches the goal.

Are You Willing to Be Imitated?—"Be ye imitators of me, even as I also am of Christ." Can you take this relation to your non-Christian neighbors? Does your life make this stirring moral appeal to your community? Has the Christian life really dawned in you? You are or ought to be the light of the world. Do your political views, your opinions, your education, your ideas regarding taxes, your conceptions of religion, differ from those of your fellow Christians? Is it difficult to call followers of other creeds your brethren? "No man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit." Behind all sincere Christian difference is the one Christ. Whoever owns him Lord is citizen of the better day about to be.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What natural conditions gave to Corinth its ancient importance? State other circumstances that helped.
2. State the influence on thinking, of such a great slave population as Corinth had.
3. In what way did the worship of Aphrodite affect the daily life of her worshipers? of the new converts to Christianity?
4. Account for the different ethical tasks of Christianity among Jews and Gentiles. Why this difference?
5. What weight would Old-Testament proof have with these converts?

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6. To what extent did Judaizers complicate Paul's problem at Corinth?

7. Explain the part which Paul's letters to the Corinthians play in his oversight of them.

8. How did Paul deal with questions of sex? marriage? property? slavery? social relations with paganism?

9. What value for the ethical reconstruction of the Gentile world had belief in the resurrection of the body?

10. To what extent were new victorious powers of feeling and will created by faith in Christ?

11. In what way did Christianity set itself to the task of social reconstruction in cities like Corinth?

12. Why did the grounding of morality in religion eventually undermine the old social order of the empire?

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CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY

IN OUR discussion of the moral problems of slavery (Chapter VI) the fact was revealed that the acceptance of the gospel must have started innumerable questions concerning business methods and occupations. The slightest reflection upon the ideals and practices of Gentile life makes clear that the prevalent immorality and idolatry of the first centuries of our era not only would close to the Christian many modes of livelihood but also would be the basis of a vast deal of irritation, antagonism, and persecution on the part of the Gentiles. The widespread acceptance of Christianity undoubtedly jeopardized many a business enterprise. Much of the persecution of the early Christians was due wholly to the economic disturbances that the acceptance of the new religion created. When any considerable number in a community became Christians, much confusion was introduced into the ranks of labor, and markets were considerably affected. Likewise, the changed modes of livelihood among the Christians themselves occasioned by their new faith worked much economic hardship in the church.

THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF LABOR

The Gospel Not a Call to Idleness.—Read attentively 1 Thessalonians 4. 11 and observe that a part of Paul's preaching at Thessalonica had been an injunction to the newly won disciples not to throw up their jobs. A few months had elapsed after his visit, and now he feels the necessity of repeating that the gospel has not called them to idleness. What aspects of the Christian message could be construed into a dislike of or an indifference toward labor? Consider in this connection the early Christian expectation

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of the speedy return of Christ (4. 15-18). Read 2 Thessalonians 3. 6-15 and note especially verses 10, 11. Our Biblical sources do not indicate that this antiwork spirit existed elsewhere than at Thessalonica. Consider also the neglect of vocations by the Jerusalem community (Acts 2. 44-47). Was the Christian idea of wealth also a factor in the encouragement of idleness (1 Timothy 6. 5-11)? The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles shows the Christian conception of labor at a somewhat later period: "But let everyone that cometh in the name of the Lord be received. If he wishes to settle with you, being a craftsman, let him work for and eat his bread. But if he has no craft, according to your wisdom provide how he shall live as a Christian among you, but not in idleness. If he will not do this he is trafficking upon Christ. Beware of such men."

Christianity the First Great Force to Ameliorate Conditions of Slaves.—Christianity brought no immediate economic relief to the slave. In Corinth (1 Corinthians 7. 20) Paul laid down the explicit injunction that the gospel was not to disturb the economic relationships of the community. He seems never to have faced the fact that Christian brotherhood must mean equal opportunity to accumulate and enjoy the physical comforts of life. Yet Christianity did do much for slavery in those earliest days. Slavery was a widespread evil during the first centuries of our era, and Christians of means generally were slaveholders. But Christianity acted as a check upon the power of the master. Cruel masters were the rule, and not the exception, and many a slave was brutally tortured for a slighted task or his mistress's whim. While not all pagan slave householders were so brutalized as those whom Juvenal depicts,¹ Christianity was the first powerful and widespread force at work to ameliorate the conditions of the slave.

TRADE ANTAGONISM AT EPHESUS

Ephesus and Artemis.—Extensive ruins, the richest in

¹ Satire VI.

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Asia Minor, still mark the site of the city so great in Paul's day and already twelve centuries old. The river Cayster once emptied into the sea near the city, but through the centuries it has poured its silt into the Bay of Ephesus until that bay is no more; the shore is a harborless, sandy coast line, and Ephesus lies five or six miles inland. As early as B. C. 1200 the scattered villages looked for guidance to the goddess Artemis and to her priests of a temple at Ephesus. Greeks coming from Athens at about B. C. 1100 founded the first city, which, though under many conquerors, ever was dominated by the Ephesian goddess Artemis (or Diana) until long past New-Testament times.

Great Is Diana.—Observe the language of Acts 19. 27. "Diana, . . . whom all Asia and the world worshipeth," was no empty boast. Ancient writers speak of her widespread worship. Various cities in Spain and Gaul possessed temples of the Ephesian model. The founders of Marseilles brought with them from Ephesus a shrine and priestess of the goddess and built a temple to Diana and copied the Ephesian forms of worship.² Strabo³ writes of Elis in Greece, "The whole country is full of temples dedicated to Diana." A shrine of Diana copied after the temple at Ephesus stood in Paul's day on the Aventine hill in Rome. Borsippa, in the Tigris-Euphrates valley, was a city sacred to this goddess. Strabo records also that when Xenophon returned from his wars in Asia and settled on his estate among the wooded hills which ridge the rich valley of the Alpheus, he erected on his place a little temple to Diana after the mother temple in Ephesus.

The Beginnings of Christianity at Ephesus.—Read Acts 18. 18-28 and state the beginnings of Christianity at Ephesus. According to Romans 16. 5 this first preaching of Paul was not without results. Acts 18. 22 implies that Paul paid a brief visit to Jerusalem and then, returning to Antioch, spent some time there. Read Acts 19. 1 to 20. 1. Two points are especially interesting: Paul "reasons daily in the school of Tyrannus." The "school of Tyrannus" was

²Strabo, Book IV, Chapter I, Section 4.

³Book VIII, Chapter III, Section 12.

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a lecture hall probably connected with one of the city's gymnasiums. The Bezan text states that Paul's daily lectures, or sermons, were from the fifth to the tenth hour. Such halls were in common use in Greek cities by grammarians, poets, and philosophers to bring their writings and views before the public. Paul apparently introduces the gospel as philosophical lectures. This use of a mission hall is the oldest example of what has become a common mode of Christian missionary activity. Congregations for worship, however, still met in private houses (1 Corinthians 16. 19). Of equal interest in this mission propaganda is its widespread success. Examine 1 Corinthians 16. 9, 19; Acts 19. 10, and observe the extent of the Christian mission.

The Importance of the Trade Guilds.—The Greek and Roman society of the first Christian centuries abounded with trade guilds. Workingmen everywhere were banded together for the protection of manufacture and trade and for social fellowship. More than eighty different trades in the city of Rome were organized into guilds. Dealers in oil, wine, fish, and grain, and workers in wood, cloth, iron, and the precious metals were found everywhere. Prominent at Ephesus was the guild of the silversmiths. Worshipers of Diana presented her with innumerable dedicatory gifts. These usually were shrines, a niche containing an image of the goddess. These shrines were miniature copies of the Ephesian temple and were left as offerings in the great temple, kept in the homes of the people, and buried with their dead. Read Acts 19. 23-41. What two reasons did Demetrius offer for opposing Christianity? According to him what was Paul's preaching concerning the Deity? What peculiarly accentuated the economic situation in Ephesus? In what way did the attack by the silversmiths and allied artisans end?

ECONOMIC DISTURBANCES IN BITHYNIA

The Attitude Toward Christians in Bithynia.—Bithynia was a Roman province of Asia Minor stretching along the southern shore of the Black Sea. Paul had wished to

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preach the gospel in this province (Acts 16. 7), but "the Spirit of Jesus suffered [him] not." Messengers unknown to us carried the good news thither. At first the Christians of this province were Hellenized Jews (1 Peter 1. 1), but later Gentiles in large numbers accepted Christianity. About A. D. 112 Pliny, the governor of the province, wrote to the emperor Trajan to inquire concerning the proper judicial methods to pursue with those accused of being Christians. A part of his letter reads:

It appears to be a matter highly deserving your consideration, more especially as great numbers must be involved in the danger of these persecutions, which already have extended and are still likely to extend to persons of all ranks and ages and even both sexes. In fact, this contagious superstition is not confined to the cities only but has spread its infection among the neighboring villages and country. Nevertheless, it still seems possible to restrain its progress. The temples, at least, which were once almost deserted, begin now to be frequented; and the sacred rites, after a long intermission, are again revived, while there is a very general demand for the victims which till lately found very few purchasers.

The Basis of Complaint Against the Christians.—It is easy to see here the basis of the complaint against the Christians and the motive for their persecutions. Consider the antipathy sure to be aroused by any new mode of life which would cause temples to be deserted, priests to be deprived of revenues, stock raisers to be without a market, and farmers to have unsalable supplies of hay and grain. With such industries seriously affected widespread business depression certainly would follow. The pagan pocketbook had been touched by Christ. While Pliny reports that a vigorous policy of persecution had somewhat improved business conditions, he is well aware that the "contagious superstition" is spreading to all ranks and ages. Place yourself in the position of these aggrieved farmers, traders, and priests, and consider how bitterly they must have denounced these Christians, whose new, silly notions were ruining the country. Think too of the hardships endured by the persecuted followers of Jesus. They too were farmers and stock raisers and traders: but

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for them loss of income was not to be compared with the gain of knowing life in Jesus Christ. Consider the richness and power of this new life which dared, sacrificed, and suffered to retain the glory that had shone into their common day.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS REPUGNANT TO CHRISTIANITY

Idolatry.—It is well-nigh impossible for moderns to realize the manifold ramifications of idolatry in the early Christian centuries. Scarcely a trade or profession was there which in some way was not connected with pagan religion. Christianity, through its best teachers, strove to break with all forms of earning a livelihood and all social customs which kept their pagan religious implications. Whenever these stricter injunctions were followed, serious economic disturbances arose. Tertullian, who lived in the latter half of the second century, preserves several very interesting features of these economic problems faced by the triumphing spirit of Christianity.

Christians Accused of Causing Business Depression.—“We are accused of being useless in the affairs of life,” writes Tertullian. “How in all the world can that be the case with people who are living among you, eating the same food, wearing the same attire, having the same habits, under the same necessities of existence? . . . How it is we seem useless in your ordinary business, living with you and by you as we do, I am not able to understand. . . . I do not recline in public at the feet of Bacchus yet of your resources I partake wherever I may chance to eat. I do not buy a crown for my head. What matters it to you how I use them if the flowers are purchased? I think it more agreeable to have them free and loose, waving all about. . . . We do not go to your spectacles; yet the articles sold there, if I need them, I will obtain more readily at their proper places. We certainly buy no frankincense. If the Arabians complain of this, let the Sabeans be well assured that their more precious and costly merchandise is expended as largely in the burying of Christians as in the fumigating of the gods. You say the temple revenues are

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every day falling off. In truth, we are not able to give alms both to your human and heavenly mendicants; nor do we think that we are required to give any but to those who ask for it. Let Jupiter, then, hold out his hand and get, for our compassion spends more in the streets than yours does in the temples.”⁴ To what extent does this reply of Tertullian indicate a loss of revenue on the part of pagan business interests? Christians were charged with immorality, atheism, and want of patriotism, and frequently were put to death as guilty of such crimes against the state. In the light of the foregoing language of Tertullian how much of this persecution really rooted in the disturbed business of pagan merchants and tradesmen?

Occupations Closed to Christians: Idol Makers and Temple Workers.—Tertullian is particularly severe against the artificer of idols. In his discussion of “Idolatry” it appears that pagans who had become Christians, who had given up the worship of idols, still continued at their old trade of making idols. At the remonstrance of their brethren they say, “We have nothing else to live by.” Tertullian retorts that such have no place in the kingdom of God. These idol makers quote the Pauline injunction (1 Corinthians 7. 20): “Let each man abide in that calling wherein he was called.” Tertullian answers, “We may all continue in our sins according to that interpretation of the apostle.” It was a bitter struggle to divorce Christians from occupations connected with pagan religion. Tertullian condemns every form of work in connection with temples. Christians urge that such employments pay better wages; Tertullian retorts that the less gainful employments at least are more steady. The plasterer, painter, carpenter, and mason need not work on temples: houses offer a larger opportunity for labor. “Shoe- and slipper-gilding is daily work; not so the gilding of Mercury and Serapis.”

Other Employments Condemned.—Astrologers and magicians can have no part in the kingdom of the heavens.

⁴ *Apologeticus*, Chapter XLII.

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School-teachers also can have no place in the church. It was necessary for them to teach the names, honors, and genealogies of the pagan deities, and to observe their festivals. The first fees of every new pupil custom compelled him to consecrate to Minerva. The commandment not to kill excludes from the church the gladiator and the trainer of gladiators. Frankincense sellers, purveyors of public victims for gladiatorial combats, and actors cannot be disciples of the Christ. Christians may not hold public offices that compel their occupants to sacrifice. The oversight of temples, the conduct of spectacles either at private expense or the public charge, the proclamation of an edict for any pagan festival, the taking of oaths, and the sitting in judgment in a criminal case are prohibited.

Military Service.—This vocation was doubly obnoxious to the stricter Christians. It was connected with idolatry and was a violation of the commandment not to kill. For Tertullian the Roman eagle was the standard of the devil, and the military camp was the camp of darkness. The Christian has no right to the sword. "The Lord in disarming Peter unbelted every soldier." Tertullian lays down the rule that no Christian may enlist. If a soldier becomes a Christian, there must be an immediate abandonment of the military service.

THE RELIEF OF ECONOMIC DISTRESS WITHIN THE CHURCH

The Common Fund.—Two distinct ways of relieving distress, which are at least relatively new, are found among the Christians of the first and second centuries. We already have noted the existence of a common fund among the Jerusalem Christians. This practice was continued, at least as a common fund, to relieve the needs of those who had no other means of livelihood. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, writing at about A. D. 100, to Polycarp, enjoins: "Let not the widows be overlooked: on account of our Lord, be their guardian. Despise not slaves; but neither let them desire to be set free out of *the common fund*." Justin Martyr, at about the middle of the second century, in

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his Apology addressed to the Emperor Hadrian, relates, "We who valued above all things the acquisition of wealth and possessions, now bring what we have into a common stock and communicate to everyone in need."

The Common Fund a Charity Created by Special Gifts.—Justin here seems to indicate a community of goods. It is quite possible that the Jerusalem practice was repeated in isolated communities. But the prevailing idea of the common fund was a charity fund created by special gifts. Tertullian, in his Apology (Chapter XXXIX), makes this clear:

We have our treasure chest, into which each, if he likes, on the monthly collection day, puts in a small donation; but only if it be his pleasure, and only if he be able. There is no compulsion: all is voluntary. These gifts are piety's deposit fund. For they are not taken thence and spent on feasts, drinking bouts, and eating houses, but to support and bury poor people, to supply the wants of boys and girls destitute of means and parents, and of old persons confined now to the house: such too as have suffered shipwreck. If there happen to be any in the mines, or banished to the islands, or shut up in the prisons for nothing but for their fidelity to the cause of God's church, they become the nurslings of their confession.

The Emphasis Upon Simplicity of Life.—"Seek ye first the kingdom of God" was the outstanding injunction of early social Christianity. "What shall it profit a man to gain the world?" was the pious query to soften the Christian's experience of economic distress. Cyprian typically expresses the feeling of the early Christian leaders. He tells his fellow Christians that those whom they consider rich are torn by anxiety. They are afraid of being robbed and murdered. They are the envy of wealthier neighbors who subject them to suits at law. "In the midst of the banquet he sighs, although he drinks from a jeweled goblet; when his luxurious bed has enfolded his body, he lies wakeful in the midst of the down. Nor does he perceive, poor wretch, that these things are merely gilded torments, that he is held in bondage by his gold, and that he is the slave of his luxury and wealth rather than their master."⁵

⁵ Epistle to Donatus.

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SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

The Material Subordinate to the Spiritual.—Paul's experience with the trade guilds at Ephesus is the beginning of the long task of Christianity to bring the business activities of mankind into harmony with the Spirit of Jesus Christ. Christianity, while recognizing the necessity of the material goods of life, emphasizes the life of the soul. The progress of Christianity, therefore, in one of its vital aspects is a process of reducing the production of material goods and commerce therein to a subordinate place in the thought and love of man. It is a tremendous task. It was the more difficult in the ancient world through the intimate connection of business with pagan religion. Yet Christian leaders did not shrink from this conflict. They faced bravely the economic disturbances their gospel involved. No more difficult obstacle, no more bitter antagonism, has confronted Christianity than the group that says, "By this business we have our wealth."

Willingness to Bear Economic Stress an Evidence of Christian Experience.—Modern Christian missions present many striking parallels to these ancient conflicts. Persecutions, disinheritance, ruined trade, lost business positions, and shrunken incomes are a commonplace of the modern triumph of Christianity in mission lands. Others than Paul have contended with wild beasts whose business was jeopardized by the gospel. There is no more telling witness to the deep satisfaction of a genuine Christian experience than this willingness to bear economic distress, that the soul may be rich and satisfied in fellowship with God.

OUR DAILY BREAD

Who Is at Fault?—Daily food is the necessity of every man. To procure it is a problem of millions of human beings; the want of it is the fear of vast multitudes. Hunger is the ghost that walks in the troubled dreams of countless throngs in the midst of bountiful earth and seas and skies. Is there not enough food produced for all? Has God gotten himself a greater family than he can care

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for? What is the cause of the economic distress that destroys the happiness of individuals and the peace of nations?

Are We Doing God's Way?—Surely God must have planned a way to supply the needs of all his children. "Give us this day our daily bread" was not intended for the rich and the strong alone. Nature has milk enough for all her children, and when any son of earth is unfed, the will of God, by some person or persons, has not been done. What is the will of God concerning the material goods of life?

Beware of Loafers!—Does not God purpose that everyone shall labor? Idleness is more than the concern of a vagrancy officer. It is more than a subject for the sociologist: it is a sin against God. Whoever is responsible for idleness—the individual who refuses to work or the community that periodically throws men out of employment—sins against the moral order of the universe. Work is the sacred duty of all. Wealth in the sight of God excuses no man from toil. Laziness in prince and pauper alike stinks to heaven. The real Christian chooses an honorable vocation and regards it as a trust and a character-building opportunity.

The Simple Life.—If God has his way with us, we shall learn to satisfy our lives with simple physical needs. It is the strife for luxuries which fills the world with distress. Centuries have come and gone, and man still pursues his restless way to heap up outward goods. The past has not taught him its painful lesson. The race is still a child crying in the night, hungry but ignorant of where its need may be supplied. To become divine man must not only labor: he must organize his life also by quiet habits around simple needs. The simpler satisfactions are the ones that endure. Sober, honorable industry and rationally controlled desires are guaranties of unpassing peace and joy.

Where Are We Heading?—It is God's will, too, that we shall understand the meaning and goal of our being. We think that it is our first duty to live. We therefore take up with employments which render spiritual culture

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impossible. We adopt questionable business methods. We grow unscrupulous and hard, become absorbed in commercial affairs, and see nothing but the golden prize for which we toil. For daily bread we sell our souls. We human beings curse and covet, lie and steal, blaspheme and murder, for bread. We barter soul for body. Is it our first duty to live? Is man's nearest obligation to have food or to have fellowship with God? Let men say, "We must be good whether we live or die; we must never part with purity and honor whether we win wealth or starve. It is better to die than to live in dishonor. An unmarked grave is a better inheritance than a palace wrung from the weaknesses and sins of our fellow men."

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Why did the early converts to Christianity want to throw up their jobs?
2. What did Paul teach with reference to the economic relationships of the community?
3. How did Paul exemplify the working Christian?
4. Tell what you know about the pagan trade guilds.
5. Why did Paul's preaching at Ephesus "start something"?
6. Show how in this respect new victories brought Christianity new problems.
7. What was Paul's method in presenting his message in Corinth?
8. What occupations were closed to those joining the Christian Church? Why?
9. In what way did the endurance of economic hardship indicate genuine Kingdom loyalty?
10. Explain the methods used by the church to relieve economic distress.
11. How did Christianity seek to bring the production of material goods and commerce in them to a subordinate place?
12. Are we meeting squarely every challenge that comes to us to make economic sacrifice for the sake of Christ?

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CHAPTER VIII

CHRISTIANITY IN ROME

THIS chapter presents the story, so far as this is now known, of the Christian Church in Rome during the first century of our era. This is the most important community whose Christian beginnings we have yet studied. The development of the church, subsequent to the apostolic age, through which the church in Rome came to its headship of Western Christianity, makes the study of the beginnings of Christianity in the imperial city unusually important and interesting.

THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANITY IN ROME

The Exact Origin of the Church at Rome Unknown.—The exact facts of the origin of the Roman church are unknown. The New Testament offers no positive testimony. The surmises are worthy of examination: (1) "Sojourners from Rome" (Acts 2. 10) shared the experiences of Pentecost and, on returning home, must have spoken of these events in their synagogues and formed the nucleus—or at least the soil for later missionaries—of a Christian community. Suetonius, a Latin historian, who wrote not later than twenty-five years after the close of the apostolic age, states that the emperor Claudius (A. D. 41–54) "banished from Rome all the Jews who were continually making disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus" (see also Acts 18. 2). If Christianity was introduced into Rome by Jews, disturbances at the synagogues soon or late were sure to occur. (2) The other conjecture is that the Roman church was founded by Christians from Antioch, Ephesus, or Corinth. These ports were in constant communication with Rome, and among the incessant travelers between the East and the imperial city Christians at an early date were sure to carry their faith into Rome. Paul's letter to the

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church at Rome, written after both his Corinthian and Ephesian pastorates, indicates a large number of Christians in Rome with whom he was familiar (Romans 16. 3-16). One thing is clear: neither the New Testament nor any of the literature of the church Fathers of the first one hundred and fifty years states that any of the apostles was the founder of the church in Rome.

PAUL AND THE CHURCH AT ROME

Paul's Letter to the Church in Rome.—The starting point of our exact information concerning Christianity in Rome is Paul's letter to the Romans. This letter was written from Corinth quite probably in the early spring of A. D. 58. After examining Romans 1. 8; 15. 14, and considering the high quality of this letter, form an opinion concerning the numbers, the intellectuality, and the piety of the Roman church. What can be said of Paul's feeling toward the Christians of Rome (1. 13-15; 15. 23)? Consider to what extent the Judaizing opponents of Paul and the great opportunities at Corinth and Ephesus had thwarted his plans to visit Rome. Read 15. 23-29 and state what Paul's plans were at the time this letter was dispatched to Rome.

Christianity's Progress in Rome up to A. D. 58.—This letter throws considerable light upon the progress of Christianity in Rome up until the year A. D. 58. Examine 1. 5, 6 (see marginal reading for "nations"), 13-15; 11. 13; and state whether this church was composed of Jewish or Gentile Christians. Observe in the working out of this problem (15. 15, 16) that Paul offers as the motive for the bold treatment of Roman Christianity undertaken by this letter, that he is the apostle to the Gentiles. Such sections as 2. 17-24; 7. 1-6 appear to be addressed to Jews; and although Jewish proselytes converted to Christianity would fit these references, there is no reason to suppose that there were not Jewish as well as Gentile Christians in the Roman church.

Paul's Reply to the Judaizers.—In addition to Paul's desire to minister to the Gentiles (15. 16) he seems also to

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be answering a Judaizing attack upon the Roman church. It would seem that they twisted Paul's teaching that righteousness, being a divine gift, is not obtainable through legal works into the slander (3. 8) that conduct mattered little: "let us do evil, that good may come." Paul indignantly rejects the accusation that liberty from Jewish legalism leads to unrestrained conduct (6. 1 f., 15 f.). He was made to say also (3. 31; 7. 7) that the law, being ineffectual to secure righteousness, really instigated to sin. Running through chapters 9 to 11 seems to be the answer of Paul to the accusation that he had forsaken his own people and nation: that as an apostate from his own religion he was scarcely worthy to preach righteousness to others.

The Division Over Food and Sacred Days.—The Roman church at this time also had its divisions of strong and weak. Examine attentively 14. 1 to 15. 7. Observe that there were two matters in question: the question of food and the question of sacred days. What was the position of the two parties on these questions? Which was the stronger element? With which party did Paul's chief sympathies lie? What practical suggestions does he make? The "weak" probably were Jewish proselytes become Christians, and the "strong" were converts directly from paganism.

Christianity's Triumphs at Rome.—Thus the church at Rome had its problems. But it had its triumphs, too. What can be said for the faith and character of Roman Christianity at this time (1. 8; 15. 14)? Consider too, in estimating the Roman church at the period of this letter, that, although no apostle had directed its development, Paul considered this Gentile church worthy of his best. For Romans is Paul's best. He discusses in the freest manner the deepest problems which the gospel awakened in the minds of men.

Paul's Services of the Church at Rome.—Read 1. 10 and state Paul's purpose in going to Rome. Paul, of course, did not expect to go as a prisoner. Examine Acts 28. 16, 20, 23, 30; Ephesians 6. 20; Colossians 4. 18; Philemon, verses 9, 10; Philippians 1. 13; 2. 25-30; 4. 10, 11, 18;

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2 Timothy 4. 9-11, and consider the circumstances under which Paul lived in Rome in the light of an opportunity to fulfill his earlier expressed purpose. Like other Roman prisoners whose offense did not warrant a dungeon, Paul was bound by a chain to a soldier day and night. From the above references it appears that the Christians in Rome, at least during the early months of Paul's imprisonment (Philippians was written some time after Paul's arrival at Rome yet early enough in his imprisonment to warrant the hope of release), did not minister attentively to Paul's needs. Paul was sometimes in want; he had been relieved by gifts from Philippi; Epaphroditus had worked himself into a sickness to care for Paul. The Roman authorities provided only the coarsest food, garments, and lodging for their prisoners. Any comforts had to be provided by the friends of the prisoner. What does this situation argue as to the debt which the Roman church felt it owed to Paul?

The Prisoner-Evangelist.—Examine Philippians 1. 12-18. Note especially two advantages of the apostle's confinement. There is a beautiful insight into Paul's life in 1. 13. The soldiers of the Prætorian guard, the imperial troops quartered at Rome, were assigned by turn to be chained to the prisoners. One by one Paul was given an auditor who could not get away from him for five hours. With courteous tact Paul kept telling the story of his life and his Christ to these soldiers till at last he could write that he had preached Christ "throughout the whole Prætorian guard." Such zeal was contagious. State the second good result of Paul's bonds (1. 14). This renewed mission-preaching awakened new activity among the Judaizers—Jewish Christians whom we have met at Jerusalem, in Galatia, and at Corinth.

Un-Pauline Christianity at Rome.—Consider again the neglect of Paul by the Roman Christians in connection with the fact appearing in Philippians 1. 18—that Paul was unable to check the hypocritical preaching of Christ. Consider also the fact that Paul felt that in the deeper truths of Christianity there was little in common between himself and the Roman Christians (2. 20, 21). Does all this loneli-

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ness and alienation, this entering of the gospel, in his very presence, into paths remote from his own spirit, foretold the development of an un-Pauline Christianity in Rome?

Paul's Life at Rome.—His earlier churches were not forgotten. His letters, Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, were dispatched shortly after his arrival in Rome. He prays for his distant churches (Ephesians 3. 14); he rejoices that they are stars shining in a dark world (Philippians 2. 15); he is pained at their sorrows (2. 28); he is concerned for Christians whom he never has seen (Colossians 2. 1); he is thoughtful to send many personal greetings (4. 10-17; Philemon 23, 24). At different times Paul had about him a number of friends. Timothy, his most trusted helper, was with Paul at the time these earlier letters were written (Colossians 1. 1; Philemon 1; Philippians 1. 1). He was sent on a mission to Philippi (2. 23) but he was recalled to Rome shortly before the apostle's martyrdom (2 Timothy 4. 6-9). Whether he reached Rome before Paul's death is not known. Epaphroditus (Philippians 2. 25-30; 4. 14-18) also was greatly prized by Paul. He carried with him back home Paul's letter to the Philippians. Tychicus, a faithful minister and greatly beloved by Paul, a resident of Ephesus (Acts 20. 4), was the bearer of the letters to the Ephesians (Philippians 6. 21-23; 2 Timothy 4. 12) and the Colossians (Philippians 4. 7, 8) to their destination. Aristarchus seems also to have been a prisoner at Rome (Colossians 4. 10). He was a citizen of Thessalonica (Acts 27. 2) and was with Paul at Ephesus (Acts 19. 29). Others were with him at times: Mark (Colossians 4. 10), with whom Paul once refused to labor (Acts 15. 37 f.); Justus (Colossians 4. 11) was a comfort to him; Epaphras of Colossæ visited him (Colossians 1. 7; 4. 12); Luke, the beloved physician, was with him for a time (Colossians 4. 14); Onesimus, the runaway slave, converted to Christ and now a "faithful and beloved brother" (Colossians 4. 9), is sent back to Philemon, the bearer of the beautiful letter which bears his master's name. Demas too is mentioned (Colossians 4. 14; Philemon 24) as a fellow worker, but the last reference to him

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is far from praiseworthy (2 Timothy 4. 9). None of these to whom Paul looked for comfort and help were Roman Christians.

Paul's Hope of Liberty.—At first Paul believed that his imprisonment would end in acquittal and liberty. He expects to visit his friend Philemon at Colossæ (Philemon 22) and to see his beloved Philippians again (Philippians 1. 26; 2. 24). But his captivity dragged on, and Paul lost hope of his release. Examine 2 Timothy 4. 6-8 and state Paul's belief concerning the manner in which his imprisonment will end. Consult also 2 Timothy 4. 16-19 and note that he has had a hearing in the imperial court. To what extent did this event encourage Paul to expect his acquittal? What help did he receive from the Roman church?

The Death of Paul.—Here the curtain of exact New Testament history is drawn across the life of Paul, and we see him no more. The first subsequent reference to Paul in our extant literature is found in "The Epistle of Clement," written to the church at Corinth nearly a generation later, at about the same time that our canonical Revelation was produced. Clement writes: "After preaching both in the East and West, Paul gained the illustrious reputation due to his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world and come to the extreme limit of the West, suffered martyrdom under the prefects." Clement does not state the date of Paul's martyrdom. Whether he was put to death as a disturber of the peace—a charge easily proved against him from the Roman point of view—or whether he suffered as a Christian under the Neronian persecution is not known. Tertullian, writing near the close of the second century, exclaims, "How happy is its church [Rome] on which the apostles poured forth all their doctrine with their blood; where Peter endures a passion like his Lord's; where Paul wins a crown in a death like John's!" [that is, the Baptist]. This tradition that Paul was beheaded is true to the manner in which the death penalty was inflicted by Rome upon its condemned citizens.

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PETER AND THE ROMAN CHURCH

Some Historical Consideration.—The New-Testament evidence that Peter was at Rome is found in 1 Peter 5. 13. Mark was in Rome at about the time that Peter came thither (Colossians 4. 10; Philemon 24). The tradition that he was for twenty-five years bishop of Rome, almost universally accepted by the Roman Catholic Church for centuries, was first recorded by Jerome, who lived in the fourth century. The first historical reference to Peter is in "The Epistle of Clement," already quoted. He writes: "Peter, through unrighteous envy, endured not one or two but numerous labors and, when he had at length suffered martyrdom, departed to the place of glory due him." Clement does not state the place of his death, but it was apparently well understood that the martyrdom occurred at Rome. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, writing, fifteen or twenty years later than Clement, to the church at Rome, says, "I do not, like Peter and Paul, issue orders to you." Here the connection of Peter with Rome is treated as a well-known fact. About three quarters of a century later Tertullian records that Peter was crucified at Rome. Some two generations later Origen writes that Peter was crucified head downward. The fact that this is not stated in the earlier literature renders Origen's account rather untrustworthy. At the most Peter could have been in Rome but a very brief period before his death.

PERSECUTION OF THE ROMAN CHURCH

The Burning of Rome.—In the summer of A. D. 64 a dreadful fire devastated Rome for nine days. The Roman historians Tacitus and Suetonius both assert that the city was fired by Nero's orders.

To remove the suspicion that he had ordered the city set on fire Nero, according to Tacitus, determined to transfer the guilt to others. "For this purpose," says Tacitus, "he punished with exquisite torture a race of men detested for their evil practices, by vulgar appellation commonly called Christians. . . ."¹

¹ *Annals*, Tacitus, Book XV, Section 44.

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The Roman Empire Becomes Hostile to Christianity.—The statement of Suetonius that Nero “inflicted punishments on the Christians, a sort of people who held a new and impious superstition,” together with the foregoing account from Tacitus, indicates that Christianity, at about the time of the death of Paul and Peter, entered upon a new stage of its career. Hitherto the Roman government had been tolerant of the new religion: in many cases in Paul’s career the government’s attitude was helpful to the spread of the faith. From this time on the empire becomes hostile to Christianity, and the church believes that Rome is the great enemy of the faith.

THE SECOND GENERATION OF ROMAN CHRISTIANS

The Testimony of the Epistle to the Hebrews.—The only indication in this Epistle of its authorship or its destination is found in chapter 13. 24. While this expression might mean that the letter was written somewhere in Italy and was sent to some church located elsewhere, it is much more natural that it was written to a church in Italy, and the general conclusion now is that Hebrews was written to the Christians in Rome. The book was written most probably between A. D. 70 and 96. If the Epistle was written to the church at Rome, we have additional light upon this church in the first or second decade after the death of Paul. We have, then, some hints as to the effect of Neronian persecution upon Roman Christianity. This terrible scourging of the church has passed (10. 32), but its effects remain. Read 3. 12 to 4. 16 and observe the danger of apostasy, which the author feels threatens this church, and note too the comfort and the hope he feels must be extended to them. See especially 3. 14; 4. 1, 3, 6, 9, 11. Read also 6. 4-8, wherein the author again reverts to this danger. They have passed through affliction (10. 32), and, stunned by its blow, the church has not moved forward with faith and confidence (5. 11-14). Read also 10. 23-25 and state additional instances of this lukewarmness. The author feels that his readers need to be earnestly exhorted to be steadfast and true to Christ under all affliction. Study

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2. 1; 3. 12, 13; 4. 11, 14, 16; 6. 11, 12; 12. 12, 13; 13. 22 and note the anxiety of the writer that his readers shall rise to the fullest faith and zeal. They were not lax in noble service in the past (6. 10) nor were they crushed by persecution. On the contrary (10. 32-34), they had passed triumphantly through great evils. Observe the exhortations to measure up to persecution (12. 4): even Christ was perfected through suffering (5. 8); the great heroes of the past endured every form of affliction (11. 1-40); chastening is God's way of dealing with his children whom he loves (12. 5-13).

The Epistle to the Hebrews Fits Conditions in the Church at Rome.—Observe the way in which the author seeks to lead his readers to faith and activity. What is urged in Hebrews 13. 1-3? Note the emphasis upon simple wants (13. 5) and upon the finding of one's life strength in God (13. 6). What effect would the statement in 13. 14, if really believed, have upon their lives? The persecution by Nero was in A. D. 64. Domitian, who reigned from 81 to 96, introduced the first general persecution of the Christians not only in Rome but in other portions of the empire. The book of Hebrews may have been written at the very beginning of these persecutions.

The Epistle of Clement.—There is extant an interesting and important letter, written about A. D. 95 in the name of "The Church of God Which Sojourns at Rome" to "The Church of God Sojourning at Corinth," which throws considerable light on both these churches. It is written in the midst of the persecutions, perhaps during a lull, instigated by Domitian. There is no hint that the Roman church has wavered under these tribulations. On the contrary, the Roman church feels strong enough to take a rich interest in the churches everywhere. Already the church at Rome feels itself in a sort of headship of Christianity. The church at Jerusalem had perished or had withdrawn from the city before its destruction in A. D. 70. Jewish Christianity had fallen into a secondary place. Rome, by its position, infused something of its imperialism into the Christians who dwelt within its walls. This letter to

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Corinth begins with an apology that the Roman church had not earlier given its attention to the dissensions at Corinth and excuses the delay by the persecutions at Rome. The letter claims also that its admonitions are spoken by the authority of Christ, and to disobey the advices of the Roman church is to disobey God. It is stated also that the church at Rome is in prayer for the church throughout the world. Here are the first germs of the spirit of Roman supremacy; but it is to be noted that these beginnings of church imperialism are put forward not in the name of the bishop but of the entire church. The letter is earnest in its demand for practical morality, and there is a fineness of piety in demanding as the basis of morality an inner spirit that discerns and motives all: "Let us reflect how near he is, and that none of our thoughts or reasonings are hid from him. He is a Searcher of the thoughts and the desires of the heart: his breath is in us, and when he pleases he will take it away."² The church is not lacking in noble sympathy and service: "We know many among ourselves who have given themselves up to bonds in order that they might ransom others. Many, too, have surrendered themselves to slavery, that with the price which they received for themselves they might provide food for others."³ The church with such devotion had some right to speak authoritatively of Christ to others.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

Two Types of Christianity at Rome.—The history of the Roman church of the first Christian century has two centers of supreme interest: (1) First, our attention centers in Paul, the great apostle to the Gentiles. The greatness of this sturdy evangelist and organizer of the church is enough to give value to every available fact to illumine his last years. (2) Then, too, all the evidence points that at Rome there was formed a Gentile Christian community which did not owe to Paul the characteristic essentials of its faith and practice. Philippians, Hebrews, and the

² First Epistle to the Corinthians, Chapter XXI, condensed.

³ Ibid., Chapter LV.

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Epistle of Clement all bear witness that the leaders of the Roman church did not follow in close fashion the teaching of Paul. From the earliest notice of the church Roman Christians felt conscious of a kind of self-sufficiency, which foreshadowed the papacy of later ages. The mystical, fervent piety of Paul is wanting. Religion moves more in the sphere of practical duties and in loyalty to the constituted authorities.

The Church at Rome a Significant Achievement.—The establishment of the church in Rome was the greatest triumph yet achieved by Christianity. The missionary opportunities of this church were unsurpassed. Here was to take place the chief struggle with the imperial power for tolerance and legal standing. Here, since Rome was filled with innumerable trade guilds, would the economic disturbances incident to acceptance of the new religion become most acute. Here too, after the destruction of Jerusalem, would the Christian churches more and more naturally turn for inspiration and example.

Greek Emigrants Led the First Triumphs at Rome.—It is of interest that Christians in Rome during this period were a Greek-speaking people. Greek was a widely spoken language in Rome in the first and second centuries of our era. Juvenal, who hates these foreigners, exclaims, "It is that the city [Rome] is become Greek that I cannot tolerate." These Greek immigrants were the successful tradesmen of the day and the confidential business agents and teachers of the rich. Energetic, intelligent, and numerous, they would arouse the ire of Romans of the type of Juvenal. Yet it was these self-reliant, skilled, active residents who led the church to its first triumphs in the eternal city.

SOJOURNERS AT ROME

Sojourners.—"The church of God which sojourns at Rome" are the opening words of Clement's letter. After fifty years of history, after being tested by two persecutions, after having drawn into itself wealth and culture, after having met triumphantly the imperial power, this church regards itself as resident only temporarily in Rome. It was

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just this consciousness of not having its roots in time and place which gave the early church its power.

Firsthand Experience With God.—These Roman Christians were self-reliant. This self-reliance did not always save them from faults but it made them aggressive and conferred leadership upon them. "To believe what is true for you in your private heart is true for all men—that is genius," writes Emerson. To look into one's own heart to hear the voice of God is the only way of advance for Christ's kingdom. We cannot feed our soul upon the religious experiences of other men. The creative epochs of morality and religion always spring from firsthand experiences of God. Many an individual and many a church would awaken into new thrilling and powerful life had they faith enough to let go past programs to seek fresh directions from God.

Paul a Poor Denominationalist.—Even Paul felt the power and coming triumphs of this church, which seemed more than any other of the day independent of apostolic guidance. In whatever way Christ is proclaimed, in my way, or in another way, I am content as long as his gospel is triumphant—this was the position of Paul. Despite all his positive leadership Paul was not a good denominationalist. He checked the factions at Corinth; he saw the unity beneath the factions at Rome. The great Christian always is of this type. Christianity is a life so rich, and its social program so all-embracing that manifold views of its mission and methods are sure to be held. Keep your love-doors open to other churches.

The Larger Fellowship.—This Roman church's self-reliance blossomed into a great fraternal concern for the universal church. They could not have been unmoved by the great example of Paul. No church can narrow its interests to its own community and become great. It must have a social vision, an evangelistic zeal, a foreign-missionary passion. Think deeply now and answer to your best self: "How far beyond myself and my family do my real interests pass? Is there in me a real Christ passion to do something for others beyond the selfish circles of my own home?"

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Pray for real nobility of soul to live in terms of great fellowship, and, therefore, of great service.

The Brick Throwers' Tribute.—These Christian sojourners in Rome became important enough to persecute. Is your life so actively good that it arouses opposition? Thank God, then, that your Christianity is alive. If you have a clear vision of the ought-to-be and seek to translate your ideal into the world's life, you will find the worshipers of the thing that is, wanting to stone you. It is not the confetti thrown at you but the bricks which are the world's great tribute. Enough bricks were thrown at Paul to build a monument tall enough to be seen across nineteen centuries. Nero and Domitian, chief brick throwers of the first century, furnished the foundations for the imperialistic, dreaming church that finally triumphed over the empire. In God's name do something so positive and aggressive in the good cause of Christ that somebody will want to see you crucified!

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Describe the progress made by Christianity in Rome up to A. D. 58.
2. What vexing questions did Paul seek to solve in his letter to the Roman church?
3. Describe Paul's life in Rome.
4. What services did Paul's life in Rome render the Christians in this city?
5. What was Peter's relationship to the church at Rome?
6. What testimony does the Epistle to the Hebrews bear to the conditions in the Roman church just after Nero's persecution?
7. State some of the exhortations to endure which the author of this letter gives.
8. What light does the Epistle of Clement throw on this period?
9. In what way did the church at Rome begin to assert authority?
10. Which do you consider the most important pastorate of Paul? Give reasons for your answer.
11. What was the most important service rendered by Paul to the Christian Church?
12. Why did the Christians at Rome neglect Paul?
13. In what sense was the church at Rome the most direct

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challenge of paganism which the new faith had yet proclaimed?

ILLUSTRATIVE READINGS

The Apostolic Age, McGiffert, pages 324-439, 627-33.

Paul and His Epistles, Hayes, pages 301-15.

The Church in the Roman Empire, Ramsay, Chapter XI.

The Church of the Apostles, Ragg, pages 193-212.

Article "Clement of Rome" in *A Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, Hastings.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHURCHES OF ASIA MINOR

VARIED circumstances combined to plant in Asia Minor many strong Christian communities which in various ways possessed leading influence in the Christian Church of the first three centuries. The present chapter indicates the spread of Christianity in the provinces of Asia Minor during the first century and points out the leading characteristics of some of these churches and the chief factors in their development.

THE PROVINCES OF ASIA MINOR

Location and Political Divisions.—Asia Minor stretches from north to south between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, a distance of four hundred miles, and east and west seven hundred miles from the Ægean Sea to the Armenian plateau. In the first century the Romans administered this rich country in seven provinces. Tarsus, the birthplace of Paul, was in the province of Cilicia. Across the Taurus Mountains to the north lay Cappadocia. Occupying nearly the center of the country was the great province of Galatia, a part of which was evangelized by Paul. Stretching along the Black Sea were Bithynia and Pontus, administered by one governor. Here Pliny, the friend of Trajan, was in charge during the opening years of the second century. The province of Asia included nearly the whole of the western end of the peninsula. Lysia and Pamphylia lay to the south of Galatia and Asia, along the Mediterranean.

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE FIRST CENTURY

Cappadocia.—From 1 Peter 1. 1 it appears that within the first generation of Christians the gospel already had many

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adherents in this province. A great trade route from Ephesus to the Euphrates ran through the heart of Cappadocia; and although the population was not large, by the end of the second century there were a number of towns important enough and sufficiently evangelized to become the seat of bishoprics. During the latter quarter of the second century Christians were numerous enough to call upon themselves a severe persecution. It seems to have been precipitated by the conversion of the wife of the Roman provincial governor. Succeeding generations produced many eminent, devoted Christian ministers, scholars, and martyrs. The most noted of the Cappadocian church were Basil, exarch of Cæsarea, the capital of the province, his brother Gregory of Nyassa, and Basil's intimate friend Gregory Nazianzen. These "three great Cappadocians," as they are known in church history, were eminent leaders of the Kingdom in the pre-Constantine age.

Bithynia.—What reference to this part of Asia Minor is given in the account of Paul's journeys (Acts 16. 7)? What further information is given by 1 Peter 1. 1? Recall what is said in Chapter VII (in connection with Pliny) concerning the spread of Christianity along the shores of the Euxine Sea in the first century. The foundations of Christianity were well laid in this province. Constantine chose the European side of the Bosphorus for his new capital for the express reason that Bithynia was so rich in Christians. For the same reason Nicæa was chosen as the seat for the great council of this name held in A. D. 325.

Galatia.—The gospel was first proclaimed in this province by Paul and Barnabas. Name the cities in which churches arose under their ministry. Recall the controversy that called forth Paul's letter to the Galatians.¹ The Montanist movement of the second century, primarily a renaissance of the prophetic spirit in the church, was widespread in Galatia, and its history evidences that Christianity in this province early spread to the remote vil-

¹ See Chapter V.

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lages. As in Bithynia, so here was fertile soil for the new religion. Christianity made its appeal at first to the humbler classes, but gradually it extended through slaves, children, and wives into families of wealth and position. The emperor Julian complained to the pagan high priest of Ancyra, the capital of the province, that even the families of pagan priests had embraced the new religion.

Pamphylia and Lycia.—Little is known of the Christianizing of these small provinces. Who first proclaimed the new religion in Pamphylia (Acts 14. 25)? A dozen towns with episcopal residence were the centers of Christianity at the time of the council of Nicæa. It is probable that evangelists from Perga, the capital of Pamphylia, were the propagandists of the new faith.

The Province of Asia.—Much fuller information is to be had concerning the growth of the church in Asia. Eusebius preserves an interesting fragment from a letter of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, in A. D. 200. It is to Victor, bishop of Rome. "In Asia," writes Polycrates, "also great lights have fallen asleep which shall rise again on the day of the Lord's coming. Among these are Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who fell asleep in Hieropolis; John, who reclined upon the bosom of the Lord, fell asleep at Ephesus; Polycarp in Smyrna, who was a bishop and martyr; and Thraseas, bishop and martyr from Eumenia, who fell asleep in Smyrna. Why need I mention the bishop and martyr Sagaris, who fell asleep in Laodicea, or the blessed Papius, or Melito, the eunuch, who lived altogether in the Holy Spirit and who lies in Sardis, awaiting the episcopate from heaven? Seven of my relatives were bishops, and I am the eighth. I could mention the bishops who were present [that is, at a conference held by Polycrates] whose names should I write them would constitute a great multitude."² Note the cities here mentioned by Polycrates, and from the enumeration of the bishops consider the widespread extension of Christianity at the end of the second century. That the church of Asia stood ready to meet

² *Church History*, Book V, Chapter XXV, condensed.

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with bold front the growing imperialism of the Roman church indicates the rich consciousness of vigorous Christianity possessed by the Asian churches of the period.

THE CHURCH AT EPHESUS

The City and the Christian Community.—Reread what is said about the city of Ephesus in Chapter VI. The city was the most influential of the province at this period. It was the commercial center, and from it there ran a great trade route through the heart of Asia Minor to the Euphrates valley. Read also the statements in Chapter VII concerning the beginnings of Christianity in Ephesus. State again the influences that terminated Paul's ministry in the city. During the apostle's residence in Ephesus he undoubtedly directed mission tours into other cities. During this time churches were established in other cities (1 Corinthians 16. 19). It would seem that Epaphras had been sent by Paul to Colossæ, Laodicea, and Hieropolis (Colossians 1. 7; 4. 13). Examine 1 Corinthians 16. 12, 19 and name other missionary colaborers with Paul at Ephesus. Observe the statement by Paul in 1 Corinthians 16. 9 and, comparing it with what was learned in Chapter VII about the trade guilds, consider the difficulties in the way of establishing a strong church in this commercial, political, religious city. Two men of this first generation of Ephesian Christians—Tychicus (Acts 20. 4; Ephesians 6. 21; 2 Timothy 4. 12; Titus 3. 12) and Trophimus (Acts 21. 29; 2 Timothy 4. 20; and quite probably 2 Corinthians 8. 18, 19, 22)—have an enduring record of their faith and loyalty.

The Tradition Concerning the Apostle John at Ephesus.—The tradition that the Apostle John, within a few years after the death of Paul, became a resident of Ephesus and guided the destinies of its church until the close of his long life near the end of the century is quite trustworthy. Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in the early half of the second century, in his youth was a pupil of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. Polycarp in turn had been a disciple of the

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Apostle John. Of his teacher Irenæus writes: "I am able to describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp sat as he discoursed and the accounts which he gave of his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord."³ In his book *Against Heresies* Irenæus further states, "The church in Ephesus was founded by Paul, and John dwelt among them permanently till the times of Trajan."

The Testimony of Revelation 2. 1-7.—What inference may be drawn from Revelation 1. 11 concerning the importance of the Ephesian church? Consider what is meant by the angel of the church in Ephesus. Observe carefully the qualities of the Ephesian Christians for which they are praised. Their "works" were their witnessing for Christ, their evangelistic labors. They patiently endured the hardships which Christian profession involved in a pagan city. They did not take up with every whim of teaching presented by those claiming apostleship who visited their city. Note the special praise bestowed in verse 6. This heresy will be discussed in Chapter XII. What adverse criticism is passed upon Ephesian Christianity? The churches of Asia were sorely tried by the persecutions under Domitian (A. D. 81-96), and the Ephesian disciples may well have blanched under them. There is a glowing tribute to the Ephesian church ten or fifteen years later by Ignatius, bishop of Antioch in Syria. Ignatius, one of the worthiest leaders of the early church, was being taken to Rome for martyrdom. On reaching Smyrna he wrote to the Ephesian church: "I am far inferior to you and require to be sanctified by your church of Ephesus, so renowned throughout the world."⁴ Ignatius also knew that Ephesus was proof against heretical teachers: "I have heard of some who visited you, having false doctrines, whom you did not suffer to sow their tares among you."⁵ Consider the bearing of such testimony upon both the ministry of the Apostle John and upon the character of Ephesian Christianity.

³ *Church History*, Eusebius, Book V, Volume XX.

⁴ Chapter VIII.

⁵ Chapter IX.

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OTHER PROMINENT CHURCHES OF ASIA

Smyrna.—Study Revelation 2. 9, 10. Note the persecutions through which this church has passed and will pass. However, the “ten days” indicate that the author believes the persecution will be brief. What form will the persecution take? In what way does the author characterize the Jews who take part in the persecution? What has been the effect of past persecutions upon the spiritual life of the church? Some years later Ignatius writes to the Smyrnan church: “I have observed that you are perfected in an immovable faith as if you were nailed to the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.”⁶ The steadfast faith of the church of Smyrna in the closing years of the first century is indeed its unfading crown.

Pergamum.—The first temple for the worship of the Roman emperor to be built in Asia was erected here about B. C. 29 in the honor of Rome and Augustus. Trajan and Severus in due course also were honored by temples, in which they were worshiped. Thus, the imperial cult here was unusually prominent. There is no record extant of the introduction of Christianity into this city. Communication was easy and frequent between the capital and the important commercial cities Smyrna and Ephesus, and this city too may have shared in the expanding missions whose foundation was laid by Paul in Ephesus. Study Revelation 2. 13-17. Since Pergamum was the capital of the province and the chief seat of the imperial worship it was the city of “Satan’s throne.” The persecution under Domitian resulted from the attempt to enforce this worship of the emperor. Refusal to worship was an expression of treason. Death was the consequent penalty. Antipas is remembered as the first of many who endured martyrdom rather than apostasy. Observe that the church here was peculiarly susceptible to heresy.

Thyatira.—This church was located in a commercial city of some importance, which lay upon the chief highway from Pergamum into the heart of Asia Minor. Nothing is

⁶ Chapter I.

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now known of the introduction of Christianity into this city. Study Revelation 2. 18-29. The church has been unusually steadfast under persecution. Note the unusual result of these afflictions upon this church. Jezebel most probably was an influential woman of the church who was leading her followers into lawless extravagances. This libertinism previously had been rebuked by the author or by some other overseer of the church (2. 21), but the movement was still unchecked. Both the prophetess and her followers are threatened with dire punishment. Compare the situation here with the conditions in Corinth reproved by Paul. The fornication condemned is that Christian association with paganism which involves recognition of heathen ritual and heathen deities. Thyatira, being a center of the wool trade, the manufacture of woolen goods, and dyed fabrics (Acts 16. 14), was rich in trade guilds. Extant inscriptions speak of the guilds of dyers, cloak makers, potters, workers in brass, and many others. Few cities in the East were so thoroughly "unionized." All these guilds were connected with religion. Their social banquets involved religious ceremonies. It was well-nigh impossible in a commercial city for artisans to win a livelihood apart from these guilds. Consequently, under the economic pressure it was quite natural that a prophetess of the church should consent to Christians keeping their membership in the guilds and participating in the heathen rites such membership involved. This advice would be given in the spirit that to a Christian "no idol is anything in the world, and that there is no God but one" (1 Corinthians 8. 4). Read again 1 Corinthians 8. 1-13.

Sardis.—This city was once the capital of the kingdom of Lydia. Cræsus, whose name has become a synonym of wealth, had his residence here. Study Revelation 3. 1-6. What sort of "works" are attributed to this church? In what state does the church now appear? What hope of better conditions does the author hold? Was the gospel preached here less pure? Or were the persons who embraced it of lesser moral and mental virility than the Christians of other cities? What praise is bestowed upon this

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church? Notwithstanding the unfavorable view of the church expressed here its history continued for twelve centuries. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius its bishop was Melita, a scholar and a saint, who enjoyed distinction throughout the Christian world.

Philadelphia.—The town stood in the midst of a fertile territory largely given to the production of wine. Its hot springs, its festivals, and its temples were sufficiently noted to attach the name "little Athens" to the city. Read Revelation 3. 9-13. The open door may mean either the rich spiritual life of the kingdom of God on earth and in heaven or the opportunity, because of its location at the head of a valley leading upward into the great central plateau of Asia Minor, to introduce Christianity throughout Phrygia. What are the "works" for which this church is praised? What assurance is given this church in regard to Jewish antagonism? to Roman persecution? Ignatius reflects the Judaizing influences to which the church was exposed: "If anyone preach the Jewish law unto you, listen not to him."⁷ But there Christians have weathered the storms of the closing century, according to Ignatius: "I have found no division among you but exceeding purity."⁸ This city was the last in Asia Minor to succumb to the Turks.

Laodicea.—At Laodicea four great highways crossed, and the consequent trade made it a chief banking center of Asia Minor. As at Pergamum, so here was an important center of the worship of Asclepius, the god of healing. Phrygian powder, a preparation for weak eyes, was prepared here. Christianity seems to have been introduced into Laodicea by Epaphras under the direction of Paul (Colossians 1. 7; 4. 12, 13). Compare also Colossians 2. 1, which indicates Paul's interest in this church. Paul wrote a letter to the Laodiceans (Colossians 4. 16), but this epistle has been lost. Read Revelation 3. 14-22. What is the criticism passed upon this church? Observe the manner in which the author uses the city's reputation in banking and medicine to express his estimate of the spiritual life of the church.

⁷ Letter to the Philadelphians, Chapter VI.

⁸ Ibid., Chapter III.

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What is the author's expectation concerning the future of this church? Christianity in this city survived the apostolic age. Sagaris, bishop of Laodicea, died a martyr about A. D. 166. The church was represented by its bishop in the council of Nicæa, 325. Church councils were held in the city in 363 and 486. It was the council of 363 which determined the New Testament canon for the Eastern churches.

Colossæ.—As in Laodicea, so here the gospel seems to have been first proclaimed in the city by Epaphras, a disciple of Paul (Colossians 1. 6, 7; 4. 12, 13). This was at the time of Paul's residence in Ephesus. Paul's letter to the Colossians names some of the leaders of this church in its first years (4. 9, 12, 15, 17). What peculiar belief and practice did Paul warn the Colossians to avoid? (2. 18). The worship of angels was a long-continued practice of the Phrygian churches. The Council of Laodicea, about A. D. 363, declared that those guilty of this idolatry must be anathematized.

Hierapolis.—This city lay six miles north of Laodicea. Its famous hot springs made it a center of the worship of Asclepius. It was the seat of the worship of Leta, a variety of the widely spread worship of the mother-goddess Cybele. Divine honors were paid her in religious festivals composed of orgiastic rites. Epictetus, the famous slave-philosopher, was a native of Hierapolis. Epaphras seems also to have first proclaimed the gospel in this city (Colossians 4. 12, 13). There is a strong tradition that the Apostle Philip resided in this city during the last years of his life. The injunctions of Paul in Colossians 3. 5; Ephesians 4. 17-19; 5. 3-5 are particularly appropriate for Christians dwelling in a city devoted to the worship of Cybele. Papias, bishop of Hierapolis during the first half of the second century, had heard the Apostle John and had known intimately many who were well acquainted with the apostles.

Magnesia and Tralles.—These cities, lying in the Mæander valley not far from Ephesus, although not mentioned in the New Testament, had churches established in them in the

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apostolic age. The church at Magnesia sent its bishop, Damas, and its presbyters, Bassus and Apollonius, to call upon Ignatius at Smyrna when on his way to Rome. Ignatius sent back with them a letter to the Magnesian church. From this letter it seems that a considerable Jewish element was in this church: "If we still live according to the Jewish law, we acknowledge that we have not received grace."⁹ Jewish Christians, according to their custom in other cities, were seeking to bind Christians to the observance of the law. "It is absurd," Ignatius writes to the church, "to profess Jesus Christ and to Judaize."¹⁰ Polybius, bishop of Tralles, also visited Ignatius in Smyrna, and with him a letter was sent to the Trallian Christians. Their bishop gave them an excellent report: "I know that you possess an unblamable and sincere mind. You appear to me to live not after the manner of men but according to Jesus Christ."¹¹

PERSECUTIONS

The book of Revelation presents these Asian churches under the shadow of great persecution. The seven churches already have been subjected to attempts to check the spread of Christianity, and darker days already are seen to be in store. This is the meaning of the repeated warnings, injunctions to be faithful and promised rewards for those who bravely meet the threatening storms.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

The Churches of Asia Minor Contributed to the World's Civilization.—Asia Minor was a rich, flourishing, populous country in the first century of our era. Here Christianity early took root in all the cities and spread in the maritime provinces to the remoter villages. We hardly realize now the contribution of these churches to the world's civilization. Our Christian life seems to spring more directly from the churches of the West. But the East early poured

⁹ Epistle to the Magnesians, Chapter VIII.

¹⁰ Ibid., Chapter X.

¹¹ Epistle of Ignatius to the Trallians, Chapter I.

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its devoted missionaries, theologians, and martyrs into the churches' life and made an important contribution to the development of piety, doctrine, and ecclesiastical organization.

The Social Value of Unselfish Interest, Spiritual Certainty, and Moral Vigor.—Christianity appeared in these Hellenized cities of Asia Minor as a new social force, quite different from anything that had preceded. The conquests of Alexander had produced a social revolution of the political, commercial, and religious interests of the country. The Roman occupation had opened up new and impressive political vistas, introduced ordered government, and opened highways of trade. But both Greek and Roman had come to exploit the native population to the advantage of the foreigner. The Christian missionaries were a new race socially. They came in the interests of the people. It was the unselfish interest of the Christian propagandist, the spiritual certainty of his religion, the moral vigor of his life, which appealed to these provincial cities. It was a vastly significant Kingdom movement when these rich commercial cities of Asia, with their deeply intrenched pagan religions, were invaded by the gospel of Christ. No march of Alexander's veterans or of the imperial legions could compare in social value with the pastorate of a Paul or the bishopric of a John.

TO THE ANGEL OF ANY CHURCH

Every Church Has Its Angel.—There is always a little group in every church who make the sacrifices, bear the burdens, carry upon their hearts the spiritual problems, pour out the prayers, have the social vision, know the Christ, and are impelled by the evangelistic passion. These are the angels of your church. It is this company, the heart and soul of the church, which gives the church its quality and its power. It is this inner circle which lives in fellowship with God and which is the channel of divine life into a spiritually indifferent world.

Anonymous Workers.—Few builders of those churches of Asia Minor are known to us. Some of the world's best

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work is anonymous. Who was the author of this saying or that? Who wrote the admonitions which we quote? Whose hands dragged into position the great stones of the pyramids? Whose chisel created the "Winged Victory" of Samothrace? What soldiers fell at Marston Moor and suffered at Valley Forge? Truly creative work is done when fame is forgotten, and the cause is all.

Conflict and Triumph.—Do not think that your church can triumph apart from conflict. If your church meets with no antagonism from the organized evil of your community, it is because you are fighting no battles for social justice, civic purity, and communal righteousness. The kingdom of God is not flashed into the world like a June morning; it comes through unceasing antagonism of all that is petty and mean in human affairs. Is your church small-minded enough to be cursed by factions? Covetousness, envy, and jealousy are the marks of feeble minds. Be strong-minded; strengthen your souls in combat with evil; take up a heroic attitude to life.

What Saith the Spirit?—The angel of any church must hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches. God has not lost his voice; he still speaks to those who will hear him. A living faith is a faith fed by continual communications within the soul. The vital source of social vision and activity is a new revelation of God within the soul of listening men. Learn to recognize the voice of God. Choose goodness, follow truth, practice justice. Keep your heart tender toward misfortune and you will meet with God. He is also working at these things. Expect to meet him in these common paths of duty, service, and love, and you will marvel presently at the intimacy of your fellowship with God. Begin to meet him to-day!

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What are the geographical relationships of Cappadocia and Pamphylia? Bithynia and Ephesus? Lycia and Smyrna? Sardis and Pergamum? Philadelphia and Thyatira? Laodicea and Hierapolis? Colossæ and Magnesia and Tralles?
2. Under what governmental divisions was Asia Minor ruled by the Romans?

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3. In which province were the seven churches addressed in Revelation?
4. Locate the cities in which Paul preached; John; Philip; Peter.
5. In what way did the emperor worship of Asia Minor handicap the progress of Christianity?
6. Why was it difficult to establish Christian churches in centers where Asclepius and Leta were worshiped?
7. What social and political barriers were naturally raised by pagan society against Christianity?
8. State the most difficult conditions over which Christianity was obliged to triumph.
9. What new permanent values did Christianity bring to pagan society?
10. In what way did persecution affect Christianity?
11. Discuss the social value of unselfish interest, spiritual certainty, and moral vigor.
12. To what extent was the life of a city like Ephesus changed by the Christian church established there?

READING REFERENCES

The Letters to the Seven Churches, Ramsay, Chapters XIV-XXX.

The Mission and Expansion of Christianity, Harnack, Volume II, pages 180-229.

The Church of the Apostles, Ragg, pages 122-61.

CHAPTER X

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE

THE development of a Christian literature was necessitated by two facts: Those who had seen Jesus and were firsthand witnesses of the beginnings of Christianity gradually passed away. These men and women were the primary authorities not only for the earthly ministry of Jesus but also for the contents of the early gospel message. With their death, written documents were needed to preserve the substance of their preaching. Then, as with Paul and, no doubt, with many of the Twelve, the places in which the gospel was proclaimed became so numerous that the apostle needed to supplement his spoken words with the written message.

THE LETTERS OF PAUL

Written Direction and Counsel Becomes Necessary.—Christianity began without written records. The “Scriptures” for Jesus and for the apostles were the Old Testament. Behind the whole of our New Testament lies an age when Christian leaders were not thinking of writing books about Christ; their sole concern was to herald far and wide the new life of the kingdom of God, which the life and death of Jesus had made possible. It was the Messiah, the Messianic kingdom, and the Messianic salvation which were on the lips of the first heralds of the gospel. During this active period of evangelization no need was felt for a written gospel or for any written directions or counsels for the churches.

Paul’s First Letter: 1 Thessalonians.—This letter has a unique place in the world’s literature. It stands at the beginning of the vast multitude of writings which Christianity has called into being. It is Paul’s first letter and

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it is the beginning of the world's Christian literature. It is impossible now to date with certainty the events of Paul's life. Between his visit to Thessalonica and his martyrdom in Rome were eleven or twelve years, during which all his letters were written. These years of travel and imprisonment must be placed between A. D. 47 and 64. Acts 17. 1-15 gives an account of Paul's visit to Thessalonica and subsequent incidents until his arrival in Athens. From 1 Thessalonians 3. 1 note what induced Paul to send Timothy back to Thessalonica. Upon Timothy's return to Paul, who in the meanwhile had gone to Corinth, the first letter was written. It is important to realize the manner in which the literature of the New Testament came into existence. This letter to the church at Thessalonica is typical of the manner of the origin of all of Paul's Epistles. Read 1 Thessalonians carefully and determine as nearly as possible what conditions at Thessalonica made this written communication seem necessary to Paul. Examine 1. 2-5; 3. 1-13 and consider whether or not Paul is trying to encourage the Thessalonians by revealing his own deep interest in all their trials. To what extent would his commendation of their faith and missionary activity (1. 6-10) tend to strengthen their Christian character? Consider whether or not this general purpose to encourage this church struggling with so many difficulties would be forwarded by Paul's statement (2. 13-16) that persecution is the common lot of all Christians. In addition to this attempt to encourage his converts Paul defends himself from Judaizers (2. 1-12). A third object of this letter appears in 4. 1-12; 5. 12-28, wherein the newly won converts from paganism are again instructed in Christian morality. Perhaps the chief object of this letter is to be found in 4. 13 to 5. 11. State what had become an object of concern among the Christian community at Thessalonica and the manner in which Paul seeks to set their fears at rest. Note the special injunction in 5. 27. The need of the church that called forth 1 Thessalonians—namely, the need of additional counsel on the part of a Christian community in its first faith and first encounter

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with its pagan environment—typically illustrates the origin of our New-Testament literature. Second Thessalonians, written not many months after 1 Thessalonians, also was written at Corinth. Its main object may be learned from 2. 1-12. Paul's teaching concerning the second advent of the Messiah had been misunderstood and was working harm in the church. This letter was written primarily to correct the evil influences of this misunderstanding.

The Letter to the Galatians.—Most probably Galatians was the next of Paul's letters to be written and seems also to have been dispatched from Corinth. The readers of this letter undoubtedly were the churches established by Paul and Silas during their first missionary tour through southern Galatia. Earlier chapters of this book have shown that Paul was dogged by Jewish Christians, who insisted that all Christians must keep the Jewish law. These Judaizers had come among the Galatians (1. 6; 3. 1; 4. 21; 5. 7) and were inducing them to become circumcised and subject to Jewish law. This letter sprang out of the deep love of Paul for these Gentile churches and his concern, intensified into agony, lest the Judaizers should undo his labors in Galatia.

1 and 2 Corinthians.—These come next of the extant Pauline letters. Four letters appear to have been written by Paul to the church at Corinth. The first of these is referred to in 1 Corinthians 5. 9. It is believed by many that 2 Corinthians 6. 14 to 7. 1 is a fragment of this lost letter. Our present 1 Corinthians is Paul's second letter to the church where he labored so many months. Tidings of certain disorders came to Paul at Ephesus (1 Corinthians 1. 11) and certain questions had been put to Paul by the Corinthian church (1 Corinthians 7. 1). In this letter Paul answers these questions and seeks to correct the disorders. Affairs became worse rather than better. Paul made a brief visit to Corinth but was able to accomplish little in disciplining the church. Judaizers in the meantime, arriving at Corinth, made matters worse (2 Corinthians 3. 1). In the midst of discouragement and affliction he sent a third letter to the Corinthians (2 Corinthians

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2. 4; 7. 8). There is much reason to believe that this third letter is chapters 10 to 18 of 2 Corinthians. This third letter seems to have restored order in the Corinthian church (2 Corinthians 7. 8-16). Later, driven out of Ephesus by the riot, Paul journeyed by way of Troas and Macedonia toward Corinth. Somewhere on the way he was met by Titus (2 Corinthians 2. 13; 7. 13), who informed him of the changed conditions at Corinth. Comforted and rejoicing, Paul wrote his fourth letter to Corinth. This final letter is our 2 Corinthians, with the possible exceptions noted above.

The Letter to the Romans.—Read again what is said in Chapter VIII under the caption "The Letter to the Roman Church." State where this letter was written. What purpose moved Paul to write to the Christians of Rome? See Romans 1. 11; 15. 15, 16. What were some of the problems of the Roman church which Paul endeavored to solve?

Letters Written From Rome.—Philemon, Colossians, and Ephesians were written not many months after Paul's arrival in Rome. Onesimus, a runaway slave from Colossæ, had been won to Christianity in Rome and was being sent back by Paul to his master Philemon. Paul writes Philemon to receive his Christian slave as a brother. This short letter is one of the most delightful missives that Christianity ever has produced. Tychicus, also of Asia, makes the journey home with Onesimus. Paul sends with them a letter to the church of Colossæ. From Colossians 2. 8-23 it seems that the chief reason for this Epistle was the appearance within the Colossian church of some new teaching and beliefs that threatened the accepted faith in Christ. It appears that this new doctrine claimed the dignity of a "philosophy" (Colossians 2. 8); that it had distinct Jewish elements (2. 16; 3. 11); that it involved the worship of angels (2. 18); and that it urged a false asceticism (2. 20-23). After condemning such teachings Paul emphasizes the conduct becoming the Christian. Ephesians was not called forth by any special or urgent need of the churches. It was a general treatise upon the unity of the church—great enough for Jew and Gentile—and a faithful urging

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of loyalty on the part of Gentile Christians lest they fall back again into their former pagan life. Philippians also was written by Paul at Rome. The church at Philippi was unusually dear to Paul. It was the first church to be founded in answer to the vision that had summoned him into Macedonia. It was not a wealthy church but it had given freely to the Jerusalem poor fund (2 Corinthians 8. 2, 3). With this church only had Paul broken his rule of self-support. Twice had they sent funds to him at Thessalonica (Philippians 4. 16); they ministered to him also in Corinth (2 Corinthians 11. 9); and, finally, when in Rome and in want, the brethren of Philippi sent Epaphroditus (Philippians 4. 10, 18) to relieve the need of their dear friend and minister. It was this beautiful, thoughtful generosity in his time of need which led Paul to send this love letter to this favorite church.

1 PETER

A Letter of Comfort, Encouragement, and Warning.—Examine 1 Peter 1. 1 for the destination of this Epistle. Read 1 Peter 1. 6, 7; 3. 14, 16, 17; 4. 1, 12, 19; 5. 9, 10 and note that Christians rather generally are feeling the weight of Roman official antagonism. In addition to this evident purpose to comfort and strengthen the afflicted Christians the Epistle warns the churches against a possible relapse into paganism and reminds them (4. 7) that the advent of Christ is near at hand. This letter probably was written from Rome by Peter at the very end of his life.

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

The Needs of the Gentile Church Brought Christian Literature Into Existence.—The foregoing studies indicate that it was the needs of the Gentile churches which brought the first Christian literature into existence. But the Jewish Christian communities also had their problems and wants, and these too were met by the production of Christian writings. Reread what is said in Chapter I under the caption "The Task of the Disciples." Examine also the

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reference in Peter's sermon (Acts 2. 22) to the earthly life of Jesus. As this gospel spread in new Jewish communities, as a second generation of believers were brought into the church, and the apostles themselves were scattered, grown old, or deceased, the need was felt for a permanent record of the chief sayings and deeds of Jesus. There was more than one effort to supply this need (Luke 1. 1).

The Earliest Written Gospel.—Among the most careful students of Matthew, Mark, and Luke the agreement is general that the most important source for the authors of Matthew and Luke was the Gospel According to St. Mark.¹ It is almost universally recognized that there was a second source common to Luke and Matthew. This earlier source is known as the Logia of Saint Matthew. It is designated also by the letter "Q." This is the earliest written Gospel now in existence. However, this book, which was a collection of the sayings of Jesus and undoubtedly written by the Apostle Matthew, no longer exists independently. What remains of it is incorporated in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. This Gospel, which emphasizes Jesus as a great Teacher and Prophet, was written in Aramaic and was known among Jewish Christians at least as early as the last years of Paul.

The Gospel According to Mark.—Examine the prologue of the Gospel According to St. Luke. Observe in verse three that the author of this Gospel commends his own work in two particulars—namely: he narrates the life of Jesus from its beginnings and he arranges his material in chronological order. Consider whether or not Luke's reference to the numerous Gospel writers who preceded him included Mark. Reëxamine what is said under the preceding topic concerning Luke's use of Mark. The next reference to Mark in extant Christian literature is a statement of Papias, bishop of Hieropolis, who held many conversations with persons who had known intimately the twelve apostles: "Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not indeed in order, whatsoever

¹ See *Luke, the Physician*, Ramsay, page 73; *A Dictionary of the Gospels*, Hastings, Volume II, page 85; *The Apostolic Age*, McGiffert, page 574; etc.

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of the things said or done by Christ. . . . He was careful of one thing: not to omit any of the things which he had heard and not to state them falsely."² It is probable that this Gospel was written at Rome and was intended primarily for Gentile readers. It seems certain that Mark was unacquainted with the early Gospel described above. The Gospel of Mark certainly was in circulation before the destruction of Jerusalem in A. D. 70.

The Gospel According to Matthew.—Reread what is said above concerning the earliest Gospel and the Gospel of Mark. Seven eighths of Matthew are drawn from the Logia and Mark. The aim of this Gospel is to show that Jesus from his birth to his ascension fulfills the Old-Testament conditions of Israel's Messiah. Note especially this Gospel's method of emphasizing events in the life of Jesus by seeing in them fulfilled predictions of Old-Testament prophets (1. 23; 2. 5, 15; etc.). This Gospel evidently was written by a Jewish Christian to further the need of early Jewish Christianity, expressed, as we have seen, in Peter's sermon at Pentecost. The name of Matthew became attached to this Gospel, no doubt, from the fact that it used the Logia (or the earliest Gospel, described above which was written by Matthew), and used it in a way that made this material prominent.

This Gospel was written not long after the destruction of Jerusalem. Examine 24. 3-5 and observe that the author conceives that the destruction of Jerusalem and "the end of the world" are closely related events. Note also that 24. 6-28 deals with the destruction of Jerusalem. Then, 24. 29, which begins the description of the "end of the world," dates this second event in close sequence with the destruction of the city. It was difficult for a Jewish Christian to conceive of an enduring social order apart from the existence of his nation and his Holy City. This Gospel thus reflects the hopes and beliefs of Jewish Christianity after the destruction of Jerusalem had broken down the more liberal elements of the Jewish Christian world.

² *Church History*, Eusebius, Book III, Chapter XXXIX.

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The Gospel According to Luke.—The Logia of Matthew and the Gospel of Mark are the principal sources for more than three fourths of Luke. Two general purposes moved Luke in the composition of his Gospel: (1) One is stated in the prologue—namely: he desired to place the materials already at hand for a life of Jesus in chronological order. He does not use his material taken from the Logia, as did the author of Matthew, largely in bulk, but he breaks it up and seeks to place the sayings of Jesus in appropriate historical settings. (2) The other motive was to make his historical narrative a universal Gospel. This purpose was not so apparent in Mark, and Matthew was written primarily for Jewish Christians. Luke writes especially for the Gentile world. For this reason he stresses the teaching that the kingdom of God is open to all. Examine 2. 32; 3. 6; 4. 26, 27; 7. 9; 13. 29 and similar passages that indicate the range of his Gentile sympathies. Consider too that the teaching and incidents in 7. 36-50; 10. 30-37; 15. 11-32; 17. 11-19; 18. 1-8; 23. 39-43, not found in the other Gospels, reveal Luke's sympathy with all classes and his special interest in words and deeds of Jesus in connection with the poor, the friendless, the outcast, women, and non-Jewish peoples.

Luke was written still later than Matthew. Observe the manner in which he treats the topics of the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world. Luke 21. 20-24, which describes the destruction of the city, is clearly differentiated from 20. 25-36, which discusses the second advent of the Messiah. The coming of the Messiah is not made coincident with or closely related to the destruction of Jerusalem and the fall of the Jewish nation. This time indication alone is sufficient to date this Gospel some years after A. D. 70, probably between 70 and 80. The place of composition is unknown.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

Date and Sources.—While this Christian writing may have been produced at any time between A. D. 70 and 100, the most probable date lies between 75 and 90. The author

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of the third Gospel was the author of Acts also. While Luke seems to have composed his account of the spread of Christianity late in the century, it is generally understood that he used earlier written sources for his history. Such sections as Acts 16. 10-17; 20. 5-16; 21. 1-18; 27. 1; 28. 16 must have been written by him contemporaneously with the events described. But this exceedingly valuable historical material probably remained in his diary unpublished until it found a place in Acts. Other written sources were used in the first chapters of his book. No doubt the accounts of Pentecost, Peter's preaching, and subsequent events in Jerusalem were recorded in writing by eyewitnesses; and such writings, like the numerous Gospels, were in circulation in the early church.

Motives for Writing Acts.—At least two leading motives led to the writing and publication of Acts: (1) It was desired to present a sketch of the development of Christianity, especially in its movements across the boundaries of Judea and Judaism into the Roman world. The author's interest centers in Paul, the great apostle to the Gentiles. (2) A second motive, though not so dominant, is seen in Luke's desire to show that Christianity, in its progress through the provinces of the empire, was not antagonistic to Roman rule (examine Acts 13. 12; 16. 35-39; 18. 12-17; 19. 31, 35-41; 21. 37-40; 22. 25-29; 23. 29; 25. 18, 25; 26. 31). Recall also the manner in which the book of Acts ends. Examine 2 Corinthians 11. 25 and state Paul's own testimony concerning his treatment by the Roman authorities. Luke's endeavor to set Christianity in the most favorable light undoubtedly was due to the fact that, at the time he wrote, the new religion was looked upon with disfavor and was provoking hostility on the part of Roman authorities.

THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

1 and 2 Timothy and Titus.—The authorship and date of 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus are moot questions. The question of the Pauline authorship seems bound up with the problem whether or not the imprisonment of Paul, with

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which the book of Acts ends, terminated in release or death. The evidence for such release is slight and, for many, unconvincing. It is thought too that certain heretical tendencies which these Epistles oppose did not disturb the church in the days of Paul. There appears also an ecclesiastical organization considerably more developed than appears elsewhere in the acknowledged letters of Paul. Examine Titus 1. 7; 1 Timothy 3. 2-10; and these letters generally for evidences of the developing episcopacy. Second Timothy and Titus, however, it is commonly agreed, used genuine, Pauline-written sources.

THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

Authorship, Date, and Purpose.—The Gospel of John was the last written of the four in the New Testament and is usually assigned to the Apostle John and believed to have been produced by him in the latter part of his life, during his Ephesian residence. During the long life of this apostle many changes occurred in the church. Although the Judaistic controversy was largely an issue of the past, the Jews remained bitterly hostile to the Christians. Persecution by Roman authorities was beginning to mold the individual churches into a consciousness of unity. The letters of Paul and the earlier Gospels were furnishing materials for theological discussions in regard to the fundamentals of Christianity. Heresy was beginning to speak with loud voice. In such conditions the need was felt for a new and different presentation of the life and work of Jesus. Observe the twofold purpose of this Gospel, stated in 20. 30, 31. Note that the author does not claim to have written a biography of Jesus; on the contrary, he states that many incidents that should have a place in a life of Jesus are here omitted. He selects certain "signs" out of many to prove that Jesus is the Messiah. However, the author holds a conception of the Messiah different from that which appears in Acts 2. 22 or even in Matthew. Read John 1. 1-5, 14, 18, in connection with 20. 31, and consider whether or not the purpose of this book is to show that Jesus as Messiah is more than a human being:

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he is a preëxistent heavenly Being who came to earth from God and who, after a brief life, returned to God.

OTHER NEW-TESTAMENT WRITINGS

James, Jude, and 2 Peter.—These Epistles are discussed in Chapter V. Many problems may be raised concerning purpose, date, and authorship; but the position taken in the earlier lesson seems the most tenable.

The Letter to the Hebrews.—Reëxamine what is said of this book in Chapter VII. The date, authorship, and destination of this book are uncertain. That it was written to the church in Rome between the years A. D. 70 and 96 and designed to meet the needs of a comparatively small group of leaders of the Roman church, dismayed and suffering from the Neronian persecutions, seems probable.

1, 2, and 3 John and Revelation.—These writings most probably were written in the last years of the apostolic age. They were intended to check certain heretical opinions that appeared in the churches of Asia in the latter quarter of the first century. Revelation was written with the further purpose of encouraging the churches to endure the persecution of the imperial authorities under Domitian, A. D. 81–96. These writings will be examined more in detail in Chapter XII.

OUTSIDE THE CANON

There are indications in the New Testament that early Christian literature was more abundant than that which survives in our New-Testament canonical Scriptures. Examine Luke 1. 1; 1 Corinthians 7. 1; 5. 9; Colossians 4. 16, for evidences of lost Christian writings. No doubt large numbers of letters and tracts were produced by first-century Christianity which, by accident or lack of merit, have not survived. There are extant three Christian writings that did not find their way into the canon but which are of importance in the understanding of the apostolic age. Two of these already have been used in these studies. The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles is discussed in Chapter V. The Epistle of Barnabas was written probably at

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Alexandria between A. D. 70 and 80. It is a pastoral letter breathing moral earnestness and a deeply spiritual life. The Epistle of Clement was written by the bishop of the Roman church to the church of Corinth about 96 and was intended to heal the factions which had broken out among the Christians at Corinth.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

The most striking result of a survey of the rise of New Testament literature is the fact that Christianity did not spring from the New Testament. The Bible has been in use so long as the chief ground of appeal for the reality and truth of the Christian experience that it is often difficult to imagine an age when this was not the case. The New Testament is one of the products of Christianity. It is a literary expression of the religious consciousness of the apostolic age. Primarily these writings did not create this new religious experience. They tended to make the religious consciousness of Christian leaders the standard religious experience of Christian communities and in this manner alone contributed to the creation of apostolic Christianity.

The facts just stated should enable us to make the best use of the New Testament to-day. We must see in these writings not a final presentation of the Christian consciousness but a rich and noteworthy exhibit of the Christian experience in the years of an extraordinarily quickened spiritual age. The Christian consciousness opened gloriously in Jesus Christ. He revealed the Christian life in its fullness of spiritual vision, social feeling, and filial affection. What we realize partially and at intervals was with him a full and permanent possession. In immediate contact with his glorious life the first disciples were stirred unto heights of spiritual living such as seldom have been repeated. It was from these spiritual heights that this New Testament literature has sprung. If these apostolic writings are to have more than historical value they must stir us to climb the heights for ourselves. A living church ever will be creating a Christian literature. The apostolic

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writings, aside from their measureless value in preserving an account of the beginnings of Christianity, should find their justification in the measure in which they inspire new epochs of religion and indicate that all such new ages, as one of their expressions, must give their visions, beliefs, and triumphs literary form.

THE LURE OF BOOKS

What Do You Read?—To know a few great books intimately is an essential test of a cultured life. He who hears above the sensual, materialistic, hurried clamor of the hour the call of even a small library of the works of the masters is secure against a thousand ills. When shall we learn that noble thought offers an escape from the petty and mean in human affairs? Above the lure of baseball, golf, theater, dinners, business, do you know the seductive attraction of noble literature? Has the New Testament made its appeal to you as an imperishable library of the beginnings of the greatest religious and social movement in human history?

The New Testament Halos the Art of Letter Writing.—The great art of letter writing, according to Sam Weller, is in setting the reader to wish there was more. How one wishes that we had a letter of Paul to Christians in Athens and Troas, or to Peter and Mark in later years! How we would pore over the letters of the Twelve written to tell us of their separate impressions of their Master! Paul's letters to urge a Christian master to receive his runaway slave, to comfort those who grieved for their dead, to express his gratitude for generous gifts from friends, to admonish the leaders of a church to clear themselves from scandals, and to strangers about their common inheritance in Jesus Christ—such letters have forever glorified the art of correspondence.

Do Your Present Best.—The one way of accomplishing an enduring work is to put your best into the immediate task. Paul never could have dreamed that his little letter to Philemon would be read to-day throughout the world. The author of the fourth Gospel never could have im-

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agined that his book would be translated into all the languages of the earth. The apostles wrote for special, immediate needs. They had no conception of a sacred canon. But they put their best into them. They were seeking to make the eternal kingdom of God a living thing in the lives of their contemporaries. This is the one safe rule to give one's deeds immortality. If you put your best into the immediate occasions of life, in this best of to-day there will be elements that live eternally.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What events created the necessity of a Christian literature in the early church?
2. What effect did the expectation of an early return of Christ to set up his Kingdom have upon the development of Christian writings in the apostolic age?
3. Give the chronological order of the New-Testament Scriptures.
4. State some of the problems that caused Paul to write to the church at Thessalonica; at Corinth; at Rome.
5. In what way did Paul's imprisonment influence the tone of his letters?
6. What relation do the four Gospels bear to one another?
7. Discuss the authorship and date of Mark, Matthew, Luke, John.
8. Who wrote Acts, and what was his purpose?
9. What sources of materials were available to the author of Acts?
10. Why is the life and work of one man emphasized so greatly?
11. How do the Epistles help us to understand Acts more fully?
12. State what you know about 1 and 2 Peter, James, Jude, Hebrews, 1, 2, and 3 John, and Revelation.
13. What is the present value of The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles? the Epistle of Barnabas? the Epistle of Clement?
14. What gaps in the record of the apostolic church does our extant literature leave unfilled?
15. In what sense is the New Testament a product of Christianity?

REFERENCES FOR READING

- Paul and His Epistles*, Hayes, pages 449-82.
The Apostolic Age, McGiffert, pages 398-423.
The Church of the Apostles, Ragg, pages 273-98.
History of the Christian Church, Schaff, Volume I, pages 570-863.

CHAPTER XI

CHURCH ORGANIZATION IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE

At the beginning of the gospel preaching there was no church; at the close of the century churches were organized in every place where the gospel of Christ had got a foothold. It is not easy for churchmen to-day to imagine a time when there were no church organizations to conduct the evangelistic and missionary enterprises of Christianity. To think of Christianity apart from churches with creeds, forms of worship, rules, settled ministry, councils, educational and charitable institutions, requires imagination. Yet in the first years of Christianity there were few or none of these.

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY

The Missionary Ministry.—During the earliest years the church of the apostolic age was without a settled ministry. There was little thought of church organization. The expected early return of Christ precluded the felt need of a formal church life. Christianity was essentially a missionary propaganda; therefore, the first ministers of the church were primarily missionaries.

(a) *Apostles.*—Naturally the twelve who had been trained by Jesus became the first preachers. Examine Matthew 19. 28; Luke 22. 28, 29 and consider the important position in the church to which the Twelve believed their relation to Jesus assigned them. Recall from previous chapters what is known concerning the mission preaching of these men chosen by Jesus to carry on the work of building up the Messianic kingdom. Read Galatians 1. 19; 2. 8-9; 1 Thessalonians 1. 1; 2. 6; 1 Corinthians 4. 6-9; Romans 16. 7, and name others who were apostles. Recall what is known of these men, their mes-

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sages, the work they accomplished, and the objects for which they strove; and consider whether the apostles were not primarily missionaries, who, for the most part (Acts 1. 22; 4. 33), could tell at firsthand the story of Christ's resurrection. It is probable that the apostles were quite numerous in the apostolic age, and that later generations came to restrict the name to the Twelve and to Paul.

(b) *Prophets.*—Read Acts 2. 16, 17; 1 Corinthians 14. 29-32, and consider to what extent prophecy was regarded as a permanent and universal characteristic of the Messianic age and the Messianic people. Note especially 1 Corinthians 14. 24, 31, 39 and state the measure of the prophetic gift in the Corinthian church. From 1 Corinthians 14. 3, 24, 31 what is the chief function of prophecy according to Paul? While prophecy seems to have been common in the apostolic age, there were individuals in whom the gift of inspiration was so clearly manifested that they were known generally as prophets. Examine Acts 16. 6, 7; Galatians 2. 2; 1 Corinthians 7. 10, 11; 14. 37; Revelation 1. 1-3, and state the subjects with which prophecy was concerned. Note especially Paul's statement (2 Corinthians 12. 1-10) of the large place which revelations had in his life and, consequently, of the prophetic character of his entire ministry. The return of Christ and the prelude of the Messianic age seem to have been a common subject of the prophets of the apostolic age. Note how largely Paul deals with this subject (1 Thessalonians 4. 13 to 5. 11; 2 Thessalonians 2. 1-12; 1 Corinthians 15. 20-58). Consider also the fact that Revelation is a prophecy of things ready to come to pass (Revelation 22. 10). The prophets usually were members of one church and confined their activities to their own congregation. But note also that, like the apostles, they visited other communities (Acts 11. 27; 13. 2-4; 21. 10).

(c) *Apparently all the apostles were prophets.*—The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (see Chapter V) uses the terms "apostles" and "prophet" interchangeably. This very interesting Christian document indicates a very active missionary propaganda. The prophets are apostles—that

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is, missionaries—and the church expects them to keep earnestly at their itineraries. The honor in which apostles and prophets were held offered temptation to those who exercised the missionary office. But it was clearly discerned that a selfish, mercenary, hypocritical life was not guided by the Spirit of the Lord.

(d) *Teachers*.—Read Acts 13. 1; 1 Corinthians 12. 28; Ephesians 4. 11; 1 Timothy 2. 7, and consider (1) whether or not the five men mentioned were both prophets and teachers; (2) whether or not there were teachers who were neither apostles nor prophets; (3) what importance was attached to teaching; and (4) in what this teaching consisted. Although the whole missionary propaganda was considered by Paul (1 Timothy 2. 7) as a process of teaching, teaching seems to have been clearly differentiated from prophesying. Observe that the teacher as well as the prophet performs his ministry through the Spirit (1 Corinthians 12. 28). “The word of wisdom and the word of knowledge” (1 Corinthians 12. 8) seem to characterize the work of the teacher. The teacher, instead of depending on an immediate revelation, seems, rather, to have spoken on various aspects of Christian truth after study and meditation. Examine 1 Corinthians 2. 6-16 for Paul’s conception of the wisdom it became the function of the Christian teacher to utter. The teacher no doubt concerned himself with explaining the death of Jesus, his Messianic character, the relation of Judaism to Christianity, and the reasonable expectations concerning the new world-order in the Messianic age.

The Settled Ministry.—(a) *Apostles, prophets, teachers*.—The church never has been without its missionaries who have pushed its borders into new communities. But there early arose the need of a fuller guidance than could be given by the apostle who had evangelized a town and established a church. In some cases the apostle gave the church an organization (Acts 14. 23), and in other cases the missionaries themselves, in course of time, made their permanent residence among the new Christian communities. Chapter 13 of *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* reads:

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Every true prophet desiring to settle among you is worthy of his food. In like manner a true teacher is also worthy, like the workman, of his food. Every first fruit, then, of the produce of the wine vat and of the threshing floor, of thy oxen and of thy sheep, thou shalt take and give as the first fruit to the prophets, for they are your chief priests.

Note the exceeding honor in which the true missionary prophet is here held.

(*b*) *Presbyters (or elders), deacons, bishops.*—Whether or not an apostle took up his residence in a Christian community, there were certain duties to perform which required administrative officers. Where the congregation outgrew a private house, a room or hall needed to be secured and cared for. Means of baptism, the elements of the Lord's Supper, the care of the Old-Testament Scriptures, and copies of the Gospels and apostolic letters required some one to provide for these needs. When the congregation met for worship, someone must preside. Such leadership naturally fell to the first convert (1 Corinthians 16. 15, 16). If later converts occupied a more influential place in the community, this leadership might naturally pass into their hands. The missionaries who evangelized a village or city may have designated the persons who thus were to have charge of the simple necessities of church organization. Paul and Barnabas are stated to have done this (Acts 14. 23). Luke calls these presidents or overseers of the congregations "presbyters." No doubt Paul also had appointed the presbyters of Ephesus (Acts 20. 17).

Functions of Presiding Officers.—In Paul's earlier letters there are no special names given to those who exercised these administrative duties. They were simply men "who had set themselves to minister unto the saints" (1 Corinthians 16. 15). These presiding officers must have taken on early some of the functions of the apostle, the prophet, and the teacher. If the order of church service laid down by Paul in 1 Corinthians 14. 1-36 was to be followed decorously, the presiding officers necessarily must have taken on the functions of admonition and exhorta-

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tion. Examine 1 Thessalonians 5. 12, 13; 1 Corinthians 15. 16, and observe the urgency with which Paul counsels the church's obedience of these officials. Read 1 Thessalonians 5. 14, 15 for an apparent counsel of these presidents of the churches. It is the last written letter of Paul which first uses special names for these presidents. Examine Philippians 1. 1. While the word "deacon" occurs here, it does not appear that the word was used by Paul to designate a particular class of church officials. The word "deacon" is applied to the apostles (Romans 11. 13; 1 Corinthians 3. 5); to those who preside over the congregations (1 Corinthians 16. 15); to those dispensing charity (Romans 16. 1, 2; 2 Corinthians 8. 1-4). (In these references the English version translates the Greek word "deacon" into "minister.") This word, used so variously, shows that no church official known as "deacon" existed in the churches founded by Paul.

Deacon and Bishop Synonymous.—It is probable that these presidents of the congregations, such as Stephanas (1 Corinthians 16. 15), Aquila and Prisca (1 Corinthians 16. 19), the five men named in Romans 16. 14, and the five men and women leaders mentioned in Romans 16. 15 eventually came to be known as deacons—that is, ministers of the congregation. They were deacons not in the sense of an order of clergy but simply as persons who ministered to the congregation in the widest possible variety of ways. Such presidents of the churches also came to be known by another name, which was in common use among all sorts of Greek organizations for the committee or council which was in charge of the administration of funds. At an early date the Christian congregation felt the need of caring for its poor (James 1. 27; 1 Timothy 5. 9, 16). The "common fund" was an established feature of church life by the end of the first century.¹ It is quite natural that the presbyters, or presidents of the congregations, should come to be known as deacons because they ministered in a variety of ways to the churches, but also that they should

¹ See Chapter VII.

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be called by the name in common use among Greek societies for those who administered funds. This name was "*Episkopos*," which means overseer, superintendent, or, in modern speech, bishop. At the time of the death of Paul no further distinction existed among the terms "presbyters," "deacons," "bishops." All were used to designate the presidents of the congregations, the chief heads of the churches (see Acts 20. 17, 28). Such officers, in the first place, were administrators of the affairs of the congregations, but as apostolic control of the churches gave way they took up more and more functions such as now are exercised by clergymen.

The Function of Bishop Enlarged.—As the higher function of teaching, exhortation, and spiritual discipline came to be exercised by these officials (Hebrews 13. 7, 17; 1 Timothy 3. 1-7), the name "bishop" clung to them to express their function of supervision of the religious life of the churches (1 Peter 2. 25). By the beginning of the second century two distinct changes have occurred in the relation of these spiritual overseers, or presidents, of the churches. There is now only one bishop in each church, and at least in the city churches of Syria and Asia Minor he has become the monarchical ruler of the local church, surrounded by a council of presbyters.² First Timothy 3. 8-13 gives the qualifications of deacons. Observe that women as well as men hold this position. The difference of qualifications between bishops and deacons is slight. Perhaps here their duties were what they clearly became in the second century: carrying gifts to the poor from the common relief fund, distributing the bread and wine at the Lord's Supper, and assisting the bishop by reporting to him individuals needing his spiritual care. Thus, by the beginning of the second century the apostles, prophets, and teachers, on the one hand, and the presidents of the congregation, on the other, in many places had developed into bishops, who were rulers of local churches, who had councils of presbyters, and who carried out their functions with assistants known as dea-

² See the letters of Ignatius.

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cons. This, at least, is the clearest explanation of the extraordinarily difficult question of church officials in the apostolic age.

WORSHIP

The Place of Meeting.—Perhaps more important than its officials is the life of the apostolic church in its meetings to hear the Christian message, to strengthen the Christian experience, and to foster Christian fellowship. The earliest Christians at first conformed to the customary Jewish worship and met in the usual place. Where was this? (Acts 2. 46; 3. 1, 8.) They seem to have selected a particular spot for meeting one another (3. 11; 5. 12). Yet a rite, peculiarly Christian, necessitated gathering in private houses (2. 46). Private dwellings henceforth became the customary meeting places of Christians throughout the apostolic age. Examine the following references and state all that may be learned concerning the meeting places of Christians: 1. 13; 12. 12; 20. 8, 9; Romans 16. 5; 1 Corinthians 16. 19; Colossians 4. 15; Philemon 2. No doubt the lecture hall of Tyrannus was used by the church for various meetings (Acts 19. 9). There is no record of church buildings earlier than the third century.

The Time of Meeting.—In the first exuberant days of the church's birth every day was a day of worship (Acts 2. 46), and no doubt during the stay of an apostle in a town or city the meetings of Christians were of daily occurrence (Acts 19. 9, 10). But the first day of the week early became peculiarly sacred to the church. The Didache (chapter 14) makes clear that our Sunday early became the chief day for Christian worship: "On the Lord's own day gather yourselves together and break bread and give thanks: first confessing your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure." By the end of the first century the customary and chief day for worship was Sunday. Jewish Christians kept their Sabbath also as a day of rest from labor and for worship. The Lord's Day was not a day of rest from labor during the apostolic age and not generally a day of rest until the empire became Christian under Constantine. Paul

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apparently was opposed to the introduction of the Jewish Sabbath among the Gentile churches (Colossians 2. 16, 17; Galatians 4. 10) and considered every day alike (Romans 14. 5). Ignatius, writing about A. D. 106-15, is more explicit in his objection to the Jewish Sabbath: "Let us therefore no longer keep the Sabbath after the Jewish manner. Let every friend of Christ keep the Lord's Day as a festival, the resurrection day, the queen and chief of all the days of the week."

The Hour of Worship.—The Lord's Day not being a rest day, either in the Jewish or in the Gentile world, the meetings for worship naturally were held in the evening or in the early morning. Examine Acts 20. 7 for an instance of such hours of service. Here the Christians were following the Jewish custom of beginning the sacred day with sunset and ending it with the next sunset. Pliny, the Roman proconsul of Bithynia, in his letter to the emperor Trajan says that certain Christians whom he had examined declared that "the whole of their guilt or their error was that they met on a stated day before it was light and addressed a form of prayer to Christ as to a divinity, binding themselves by a solemn oath never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery, never to falsify their word, nor deny a trust when they should be called upon to deliver it; after which it was their custom to separate and then reassemble to eat in common a harmless meal." If one compares Pliny's report with Luke's account of the service at Troas and remembers that the Lord's Supper was a central object of Christian gatherings from the beginning of the church (1 Corinthians 11. 23-25; Acts 2. 46), it would seem that two services were held on the Lord's Day: one Saturday evening, the other early Sunday morning.

The Nature of the Lord's-Day Service.—(a) *The evening service.*—The chief object of the evening service was to partake of the Lord's Supper. Examine again what is said by Pliny, also the report of the service at Troas (1 Corinthians 11. 18-34, and Acts 2. 46); then consider the important place this sacrament held in the early church. The Lord's Supper followed a common meal. It was the closing rite of

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a social meal designed to express a full consciousness of Christian fellowship. The Lord's Supper and the common meal were for members only.

(b) *The morning service.*—The statement of Pliny makes clear that the Christians had an early-morning service. What were the constituent elements of this twilight service, according to Pliny? Paul (1 Corinthians 14) deals at some length with this second service. What striking difference existed between this service and the one discussed above (14. 24)? Teaching and prophecy also were parts of this service. When no distinguished teacher or prophet was present at the service, these portions of the service were open to all. Read again what is said by Paul (14. 29-32) about conducting this part of the service. Speaking with tongues also occurred in the services of the Corinthian church. Examine 1 Corinthians 14. 2, 4, 13, 14 and observe that this exercise was a kind of praying, when the speaker's words were meaningless to others and were the expression, even to the one who used them, of no rational ideas. They were not really words—that is, they conveyed no orderly thought to anyone. They were the expression of an ecstatic mood of thanksgiving and praise to God. It is impossible to know to what extent of time and place the order of the Lord's Day services sketched above is applicable to the churches. That the love feast featured in the services of Asia Minor in the early part of the second century is seen in the letter of Ignatius to the church of Smyrna. The Sunday service described by Justin Martyr³ near the middle of the second century lacked the common meal and was composed of readings from the Old Testament and apostolic letters, exhortation by the presiding official, and prayers by the congregation standing. This was followed by the Lord's Supper.

The Rite of Baptism.—Baptism was a condition of admittance to the church from the beginning (Acts 2. 38; Galatians 3. 27; 1 Corinthians 1. 13). Judging from 1. 14-17, what importance did Paul attach to the

³ *Apology*, Chapter LXVII.

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rite? Consider Paul's conception from his discussion in Romans 6. 3-11. May any inference be drawn from 6. 4 and Colossians 2. 12 concerning the mode of baptism? The manner in which the rite was administered undoubtedly greatly varied. The Didache orders:

Thou shalt baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit in running water; but if thou hast not living water, then baptize in other water. If thou art not able in cold water, then in warm; but if thou hast not either, then pour water on the head thrice. But before the baptism, let him that baptizeth and him that is baptized fast, and any others who are able. Thou shalt order him that is baptized to fast a day or two before.

According to the Didache none but baptized persons might partake of the Lord's Supper. This is the implied teaching of Paul in connection with the church of Corinth.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

Permanent Christian Triumphs.—It is impossible to conceive any permanent Christian triumphs apart from the church. A continual succession of missionaries from the day of Pentecost until this day could have made no enduring impression upon the world. Indeed, the very missionary activities of Christianity are dependent on the church. The church conserved the apostolic teaching in many ways. The missionary awakened the dawn of finer life in a group of residents in town or city and then passed on to new communities. Such converts, had they not been gathered into churches, assembled regularly for instruction, and placed under the guidance of the most spiritual and zealous, inevitably would have fallen back into paganism or been diverted into the wildest extravagances.

Christian Fellowship.—The common meal, the common faith, the common baptismal rite, and, above all, the eucharistic sacrament of bread and wine, with its memorial of Golgotha and its prophecy of Christ's coming, were mighty agents in creating a social bond of extraordinary attractiveness and power. It was in this social fellowship with each other and with Christ that the

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new convert was safe. Ignatius, in writing to the Ephesians, forcefully emphasizes this: "Take heed, then, often to come together to give thanks unto God. For when you come frequently together in the same place, the powers of Satan are destroyed." This fellowship was extended ideally far beyond the actual social contact of a single community. Paul, in writing to his converts in Corinth, addresses them, "Unto the church of God which is at Corinth." The individual Christian felt himself not merely a member of his local society, but ideally a member of an organization that rapidly was extending to the remoter provinces of the empire. If he traveled from Antioch or Ephesus, to Corinth or to Rome, he would find brothers who believed his beliefs and were actuated by his hopes. Nor was this fellowship limited to living brethren; those whose testimony was silenced by death (1 Thessalonians 4. 16, 17; Hebrews 11. 39, 40) were members still of Christ's glorious brotherhood, whose welfare was the concern of all.

The Monarchical Episcopate an Inevitable Necessity.—The distinction between clergy and laity was bound to arise. Church organization required officials; and as their duties became more arduous and varied, secular vocations became more and more impossible. The monarchical episcopate, well developed by the opening of the second century, was an inevitable necessity. Many dangers threatened the church: heresies, persecution, and economic advantages of paganism. Rigid organization, attentive oversight, and authoritative teaching could be had alone by the system that actually developed in response to needs.

The Social Implications of the Lord's Day Incalculable.—It is a curious thing that the need of a day of rest among Gentile Christians was felt so slightly in connection with the requirements of the Lord's-Day services. The fear of a Judaizing Christianity blinded Gentile Christianity to the social need of a Sabbath. Then, too, the Gentile world was neither religiously nor economically organized for a weekly cessation from labor. But when the fear of Judaism was past, the latent connection of Christianity with Hebrew life asserted itself, and the Sabbath became a Christian in-

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stitution. The social implications of the Lord's Day are incalculable. The weekly rest day of Hebrew-Christian life by itself alone can well-nigh revolutionize a pagan civilization.

THE CHURCH AND THE KINGDOM

Be Apostolic!—The first apostles were essentially missionaries. They were dominated by the passion to share with the Jewish and Gentile world the new spiritual life awakened in them by their fellowship with Christ. For this they lived; for this they died. It was this unceasing zeal that gave us the church; it was this same passion to bring new converts into a life-enriching fellowship which kept the church alive. Is your church merely existing? Then devote yourself to the apostolic experience and ideal. Begin this day to commend your Christ to some acquaintance. Be a personal evangelist. Then, too, give yourself to the missionary movements of the church. Catch the inspiration of the greatest apostolic enterprises since the first century. Be an apostle in belief and practice.

Be a Prophet!—What is your prophetic experience? The essential mark of the prophet is to live with soul open to the immediate direction of God. Is this experience yours? Is your life consciously responsive to his will? Do you transact the affairs of business, of the family, or civic life, of the church, and of your hours of leisure guided by the feeling that what you do is a fulfilling of the divine purpose for you? Here is the source of your religious life. If you are truly religious, you will feel that in your life God really reveals himself in your choices, in your ideals, in the things that are dear to you, in your moral standards.

Be a Teacher!—Are you a teacher of religion? Perhaps you are saying religion cannot be taught; religion is the product of the indwelling Spirit in the soul of man: it is something begotten in us by the living God. "Go, therefore, and teach all nations." It was Jesus, the Teacher, who kept his disciples because he alone had the words of life. We need a truer conception of teaching. To teach is more than to share information with another; it is to pass

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on one's convictions, enthusiasms, ideals. It is to lift another into the realm of one's spirit, faith, and life. No Christian can keep his experience of Christ apart from the teacher's vocation. No church can fulfill its true mission in its community unless teaching is one of its chief functions.

"In Remembrance of Me."—What is your thought of and feeling toward the Lord's Supper? Is this sacrament for you what it was for early Christianity—the visible symbol of Christ's presence, the visible token of Christ's promised Kingdom, the visible reenacted drama of Christ's passion? Is it only bread and wine you see? Or, somehow, in this rite of the church, taking us back to Golgotha itself, do you enter into the presence of the ineffable mystery of God's love and Christ's sacrifice? Forget the bit of bread you have eaten and enter, rather, into the mighty fellowship of Christ's church—Christ's body which is for you: Christ and all his disciples until now, a glorious company of aspiring, dreaming souls, waiting to receive you into their fellowship. Enter in through this mystical drama and find your life. Is it the blood of the grape alone? God forbid! It is the wine of an infinite sacrifice: the pressed juices of inextinguishable dreams, unquenchable loves, and indestructible hopes; it is the mystic blood from the heart of the eternal God. This is the Christian mystery. This sacrament initiates the communicant into the awe-inspiring presence of God's love and redemptive passion.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Discuss the terms "apostles," "prophets," and "teachers."
2. Why was a settled ministry unthought of at first?
3. What influences finally limited the term "apostle" to Paul and the Twelve?
4. What are the meanings of the terms "presbyter," "deacon," "bishop"?
5. State the simple needs of a congregation which required a presiding officer?
6. Discuss the development which had taken place in the officary of the church by the beginning of the second century.
7. What was the character of the worship of Christians immediately after Pentecost?

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8. What finally led to a special service and place of meeting?

9. Describe the two chief meetings of worship in the early church.

10. Discuss the importance placed upon the rite of baptism.

11. What service did the church render to the Kingdom in the first century?

12. Discuss the contribution made by the Lord's Supper to the developing kingdom of God.

13. State the argument for baptism to a Gentile convert of the first century.

14. Sum up the contributions made to the social order of the Gentile world by the Christian Church in the first century.

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CHAPTER XII

TRIALS AND TRIUMPHS OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH

PRECEDING chapters have indicated that the gospel won its victorious way through the antagonism of Judaizers, pagan moral habits, economic problems, and persecution by Jewish and Roman authorities into a widespread acceptance and a somewhat compact organization toward the close of the first century. This chapter will examine something of the internal struggle of the church to avoid forms of teaching which would prove destructive of the Christian life developed under the guidance of the apostles.

HERESY

Reasons for the Possibility of Heresy in the Apostolic Age.—In the latter half of the first century church leaders frequently warned the Christian communities against false and erroneous teachers and apostles. This teaching, which was at variance with the main line of apostolic beliefs and doctrines, continually spread until, during the second century, the church was plunged into a life-and-death struggle with its foe. Some of the New-Testament evidence of these rising sects is found in Colossians 2. 8, 18; Matthew 24. 11, 24; 2 Peter 2. 1; 1 John 4. 1; Revelation 2. 2; 19. 20; 20. 10. These references indicate that the false teaching might so closely resemble the accepted apostolic teaching that the very best people in the church could be led astray. These erroneous teachings were not necessarily the attack of the enemies of Christianity; sometimes, at least, they were views that sprang up within the very folds of the church. Neither the trials nor the triumphs of the apostolic church can be understood apart from the

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fact that the beliefs and convictions that finally crystallized into doctrines were not given to the churches at one time; they are the result of the process of development. A sketch of the development in the beliefs and convictions about the person of Jesus will make clear the manner in which heresy arose.

The Person of Christ.—(a) *The teaching of the earliest Christians at Jerusalem.*—The early chapters of Acts are believed to contain the oldest written Christian records. At any rate, the speeches of Peter and Stephen report undoubtedly the views of the Christian community of the first days. Review what is said in Chapter I concerning “The Risen Christ” and “The Task of the Disciples.” Also examine again the topic “The Preaching of the First Days” in Chapter IV. Observe that Jesus of Nazareth and the Messiah are positively identified (Acts 2. 36). Recall the “Servant of Jehovah” prophecies in Isaiah 42. 1-4; 49. 1-6; 50. 4-9; 52. 13 to 53. 12. Now examine Acts 3. 13, 26; 4. 30 and consider whether Peter identifies Jesus with the Servant of Jehovah or not. Observe also that the Messianic title “Son of man” is applied to Jesus by the martyr Stephen (7. 56). Note that the title “Lord” is applied both to God (4. 24) and to Jesus (2. 36; 7. 59). Undoubtedly, previous to the crucifixion, the disciples believed that Jesus was the Messiah (Luke 24. 21), but this belief had been dispelled by his death. The resurrection of Jesus revived this belief into solid conviction. Jesus stood forth revealed as Messiah, or Christ.

(b) *Paul’s conception of Christ.*—Paul advances this development of belief in the person of Jesus. Jesus is Christ and Lord (Romans 1. 4). He is also the “Son of God” (1. 4). Read closely 8. 9-11 and state whether Paul says that the “Spirit of Christ” and the “Spirit of God” are really one Spirit, or whether he is saying that the Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of God each may dwell in man, and that the religious effects of such indwelling are the same. To help answer this consult 1 Corinthians 3. 23; 11. 3; 15. 28; Philippians 2. 11, and observe the positive way in which Paul subordinates Christ to God. In the light of

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these last references what does Paul mean by his statement in Colossians 2. 9? See also (Philippians 2. 6) the assertion of Christ's equality with God. For Paul, Christ, whom he also identified with Jesus, existed previously to the birth of Jesus. Paul's conception of Christ wavers between his Hebrew conviction of one God and his Christian consciousness of the exalted nature of Christ. For him there is one God who has created all things, in whom all beings live, and who dwells uniquely in all who honor his Christ; but at the same time Christ is a preëxistent, exalted, divine Being, who also dwells in the life of the Christian believer.

(c) *The conception of Christ in Hebrews.*—The author of Hebrews defines the term "Son of God" in such a way as to make Jesus divine in the same sense in which God is divine. Jesus was an active agent in the creation of the worlds (Hebrews 1. 2); he is the "effulgence of God's glory" and the "very image of his substance" (1. 3). Jesus "upholds all things by the word of his power" and is now God, whose throne is forever and ever (1. 8). Yet there are statements that subordinate the person of Jesus to God. The Son does not occupy the throne; he is at the throne's right hand. He is appointed to his high priesthood by God (3. 2). It is God who has made him heir of all things (1. 2). Here again the exact relation of Christ to God is left uncertain.

(d) *The conception of Christ in the fourth Gospel.*—The fourth Gospel carries further Paul's teaching concerning Jesus as the exalted Son of God. For Paul it was the resurrection which made apparent this Sonship. The author of the fourth Gospel sees this exalted glory of God's Son in the earthly life of Jesus. Read John 1. 1-3 and state what divine qualities are attributed to Jesus. Examine 10. 30, 37, 38; 12. 45; 14. 9-11; 17. 21; 20. 28, and state the emphasis upon the divine nature of Jesus. Yet here too Jesus is subordinated to God. God is greater than Jesus (14. 28); God tells Jesus what to say to men (8. 26, 40); the works of Jesus must copy God's works (5. 19-23). Observe the manner in which the equality of Jesus with God and his subordination to God are expressed side by side in this

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last reference. John, like Paul and the author of Hebrews, believes that there is only one God; yet despite the contradiction involved, which they did not attempt to resolve, Jesus also was God for them.

(e) *The process of development in Christian interpretation gave opportunity for varying teaching.*—Thus, during the apostolic age, within the Christian communities there was a changing content in the beliefs concerning the nature of Jesus. For the first Jerusalem group of Christians he was “a man approved of God by mighty works and wonders and signs which God did by him” (Acts 2. 22). For the author of the fourth Gospel he was God, the Creator of the universe, existent from the beginning of all things. This process of development in Christian interpretation of the person of Jesus also characterized the apostolic interpretation of his work. Since the meaning of his person and the manner of his redemptive work were not fixed doctrines furnished to the church at its origin, but were gradually attained by reflection upon the life and death and resurrection of Jesus, the opportunity for teaching at variance with generally accepted convictions was always open.

Heresy in the Apostolic Age.—(a) *At Colossæ.*—Read Colossians 2. 8, 9 and observe the warning against teachers whose reasoning robs Christ of his divine prerogatives. Colossians 1. 15-17 seems to be directed against these speculations, which belittle the exalted character of Jesus. The same errorists appear in 2. 18, 19, where the worshiping of angels is part of the false conception of the creation of the world. These teachers were emphasizing asceticism (2. 21-23).

(b) *In the pastoral Epistles.*—A false asceticism is condemned in 1 Timothy 4. 1-5. What relation is here said to exist between these errorists and the church? What origin is assigned to their view and practices? Note the manner in which views alien to Christian tradition are characterized (4. 7). These heretics profess superior knowledge (2 Timothy 3. 7; Titus 1. 16). They deny the resurrection (2 Timothy 2. 18). They are guilty of many moral

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lapses from the accepted Christian standards (3. 1-9, 13; Titus 1. 16).

(c) *2 Peter and Jude*.—Read carefully 2 Peter 2. 1-22 and note the evils charged against the false teachers. What beliefs of these heretics are condemned? (2. 1; 3. 4.) With what immoral practices are they charged? (2. 2, 3, 10, 13, 14.) What is this author's answer to their denial of the second advent of Christ? Why are they likened to Balaam? What doctrinal aberrations are charged against certain errorists by Jude? (Verses 4, 10.) Of what immoralities are they guilty? (Verses 3, 8, 11, 16, 18, 19.) Observe the remarkable words that characterize the dangerous leadership of these heretics (verses 12, 13). Note the references to Cain and Balaam.

(d) *1 John and Revelation*.—The same sectaries apparently called forth the First Epistle of John. The true knowledge of the Christ experienced by John is sharply contrasted with the knowledge which the false teachers claimed. Read 1 John 1. 1-4 in the light of this purpose. Something of their false doctrines is indicated in 2. 22; 4. 3-6. Their laxity in morals is condemned in 2. 4, 9. Examine Revelation 2. 2, 6, 14, 15 for other marks of the groups within the church whose beliefs and practices were separating them from apostolic teaching and life.

Gnosticism.—During the second century there came into great prominence a class of Christians who held certain speculative views concerning the world, evil, God, Christ, and redemption. These were called Gnostics because of their emphasis upon knowledge as the key to life and redemption. The struggle between these Gnostics and the church was sharp and prolonged. There were many differences in their views, but there were some points of general agreement. They taught that our world is a mixture of rational and irrational, light and darkness, evil and goodness. Far above our world is a realm of exalted goodness and light, where the supreme Being dwells. Our world was not created by this exalted Being but by a divine Being of lower order, who is ignorant of the existence of the supreme God. This Maker of our world is Jehovah, the

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God of the Jews. He has done what he could to make the world better but he has undertaken a hopeless task. Christ, who is a wonderful concentration of the wisdom and goodness of the supreme Being, has entered into our world to redeem those human souls in whom there is a longing to escape the evil elements of the world. This Christ, a spiritual Being, descended upon the man Jesus but left him previously to the crucifixion. Salvation is secured to such souls as catch the significance of his coming. To hold the true view of the universe and to be conscious of the high destiny through Christ is to possess salvation.

The Docetists.—These were a Gnostic sect whose views of Jesus were different from those expressed above. They held that the Messiah, a pure spiritual Being, took bodily form in Jesus, but that the body the disciples knew in Palestine was not real flesh and blood; it was appearance, phantom. Christ therefore did not really suffer and die and rise again. Read again the Epistles of John in the light of these views, which, toward the end of the first century, began to spread in the Christian Church. Note especially the emphatic protest against Docetism in 1 John 1. 14; 2. 18, 19; 4. 2, 5, 6; 2 John, verse 7. Polycarp, who was a disciple of the Apostle John, condemns the Gnostics for denying the resurrection and the Judgment. The Gnostic views of redemption discarded belief in the resurrection of the body, the general Judgment, and the second coming of Christ.

Ignatius, in refuting this heresy in several letters to the churches of Asia Minor, reveals the widespread and powerful influence of these views upon the church at the opening of the second century. To the church at Tralles he writes:

There are some vain talkers and deceivers, not Christians, but Christ betrayers. They alienate Christ from the Father. They calumniate his being born of the Virgin; they are ashamed of his cross; they deny his passion; they do not believe in his resurrection. Stop your ears, therefore, when anyone speaks to you at variance with Jesus Christ who was truly begotten of God and of the Virgin. He truly assumed a body. He did in reality both eat and drink. He was cruci-

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fied and died under Pontius Pilate. He really, and not merely in appearance, was crucified and died. He also rose again in three days.¹

The Failure of Gnosticism.—Gnosticism did not fail solely because of its doctrine or its ethics; for its doctrines were not altogether error, and its moral outlook was not all libertine. The Gnostics emphasized one aspect of the higher life: knowledge. In pursuit of knowledge they were led into speculative extravagance. Other elements of the Christian life were ignored or denied. Universal Christianity had a richer social vision, a deeper ethical consciousness, a truer democratic spirit, a more trustworthy historical sense. The defeat of Gnosticism was the practical consciousness triumphing over the speculative consciousness within the church.

APOSTASY

Reasons for Apostasy.—Economic hardships, social disadvantages, the lure of pagan morals, or the suspicion of government authorities were sufficient in many cases to turn the new disciple away from his brethren and his faith. When these causes centered in persecution by Roman officials, the danger of denial of Christianity became acutely pronounced. Pliny's famous letter to Trajan, revealing the situation in Bithynia, is typical of the situation everywhere. He says of certain persons accused of being Christians:

Some among them at first confessed themselves Christians but immediately afterward denied it; the rest owned indeed that they had been of that number formerly but had now—some above three years, others more, and a few above twenty years—renounced that error.

Apparently the fear of death drove many half-hearted Christians back into paganism.

The Test of Emperor Worship.—Throughout Asia Minor, toward the close of the first century, the worship of the reigning Roman emperor became the test on the part of the authorities to distinguish Christians from pagans.

¹ Chapter IX.

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Pliny reports of those who denied that they were Christians:

They repeated after me an invocation to the gods and offered religious rites with wine and incense before your [Trajan] statue, which for that purpose I had ordered to be brought, together with those of the gods, and even reviled the name of Christ; whereas there is no forcing, it is said, those who are really Christians into any of these compliances.

The Background of the Book of Revelation.—It is this emperor worship and the persecution of the church, which its institution involved, which is the dark background of the book of Revelation. Something of the mode of worship is given in the foregoing quotation from Pliny. Great effort was made to commend this worship to the people by priests of Asia. Pretended miracles were performed in the sight of the people. Through some trickery fire seemed to fall from heaven, and the image of the emperor was made to speak (Revelation 13. 13, 15).

The book of Revelation, Pliny's correspondence with Trajan, and the Epistle of Clement indicate that the church suffered considerable persecution during the reign of Domitian. Some were exiled (Revelation 1. 9), many suffered hardship in business, many were tortured, many were put to death. Some form of boycott or petty harassing of Christians was indulged in (13. 16, 17), or some religious restriction was put upon trade such as would exclude Christians from the markets. Open avowal of Christ was death (13. 15). Martyrdom claimed its toll drawn from many provinces during the reign of Domitian. Rome was drunk with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus (17. 6).

Church and Empire.—The attempt to universalize emperor worship and the consequent bitter persecution of the Christians awoke in the church a deep hostility to the empire. The author of the book of Revelation clearly indicates this. The red dragon of chapter 12 is "Satan, the deceiver of the whole world." The beast coming up out of the sea (13. 1) is the Roman Empire, which wields Satan's power (13, 4). The worship of the emperor is really the worship of Satan (2. 13; 13. 4), and the power of Rome

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and the imperial worship extend throughout the world (13. 8). The same intense antagonism of the church toward the empire and the hostility of the imperial power toward Christianity are seen in the scarlet woman of chapter 17. Rome is this woman, rich and licentious, upheld by a scarlet-colored beast—that is, by the imperial power. The ceaseless conflict between the church and the empire, inaugurated by Nero but more fiercely determined by Domitian, appears in the statement (17. 14) that the ten horns of the beast shall war against the Lamb. The author of Revelation was interested especially in the province of Asia, where he lived. The religious and civil authorities of Asia constitute for him a second beast, with two horns symbolizing these two aspects of the government (13. 11). The provincial authorities in Asia exercise “all the authority of the first beast” (Rome) (13. 12) and zealously promote the imperial worship.

The Prophetic Message of the Book of Revelation.—Christian loyalty even unto death is the prophetic message of Revelation. The author urges the Christians to stand firm against both apostasy and the fear of martyrdom. This position is urged by three considerations: (1) The Roman Empire is doomed to sudden destruction (Revelation 17. 14). Even if the second coming of Christ should not destroy the power of Rome, the empire itself shall be shattered by her own princes contending for power (17. 16). The woes of the imperial city when destruction comes upon her are vividly painted in 18. 8-19. In place of Rome, Christ will establish an earthly Kingdom (20. 1-4), wherein faithful Christians and martyrs shall live and reign with Christ a thousand years. This shall be a kingdom untouched by evil. It is the millennium. After the thousand years are passed, the conflict breaks out again, to end in the vanquishing of Satan’s hosts, who will be tormented forever and ever. (2) To be loyal to Christ the Christian may suffer at the most for a few days or years; but worshipers of the emperor and pagan gods shall drink the wine of the wrath of God forever. They shall be subjected to an undying torture of fire and brimstone (14. 9-11). Judg-

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ment already is at hand, and the nations of the world are in the winepress of the wrath of God (14. 19). (3) But those who are faithful unto Christ enter everlasting bliss. They share Christ's eternal kingdom (7. 9, 13-17), and the bitterness of this life ends in unalloyed bliss. Christ himself needed to be slain to win his Kingdom (5. 12), and those who are beheaded in his cause shall reign with him (20. 4). The martyr may seem to lose all in his loyalty, but in reality he gains all. His Christ in taking over the kingdoms of the world (11. 15) is guaranty of his servant's eternal blessedness.

The Book of Revelation.—In this book a Christian prophet of the closing decade of the first century seeks to steady the faith and preserve the loyalty of the church under the bitter persecutions of Domitian. Christians had been persecuted by Nero, but little opportunity was given under his attacks to apostatize; but now Christians could escape the sword and wild beasts by denying Christ. Many of the weaker in faith were shrinking from martyrdom. It was this author's impassioned purpose to save the church from spiritual death. His method is to lift the thought of his readers from this world and its common values to another world, wherein faithful and martyred Christians reign with their once slain but now crowned Redeemer and Lord. He was not describing events to take place in far-off centuries. For him the Roman Empire was at the threshold of its doom. Rome, filled with grossest immoralities and drunk with the blood of martyrs (17. 5, 6), soon will pass away (1. 1; 22. 10). The Christ kingdom dawns. Instead of Rome, the city of death, terrifying the world from its seven hills, the golden City of God, the New Jerusalem, will be let down upon the earth for the residence of God's saints. Be faithful, and the glory of your wildest dreams is yours; deny Christ, and hell, with unnamable tortures, claims you forever. This is the function of the book of Revelation.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

The Last Quarter of the First Century Important in

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Kingdom Development.—The closing decades of the first century are exceedingly important in the development of Kingdom movements within the church. The church faced two foes that threatened its unity and destruction. It was at this period that certain permanent principles were evolved in connection with heretical teaching. Heresy is not necessarily teaching and beliefs contrary to truth. Christianity itself began as a Jewish heresy (Acts 24. 14). It is a variation from accepted standards. Whether the new departure from prevailing beliefs will justify itself or not remains to be seen. Many Gnostics were as sincere as the other Christians. Many of their teachings were natural developments of apostolic utterances. In the long run Gnosticism went down to defeat because it lacked power to do the best work in the sphere of conduct. These first heresies, which troubled the church, stressed speculation and knowledge to the neglect of moral and social duties. Therefore, they were doomed to perish. The final judgment of a religion is not its doctrines but its deeds. In any age when doctrines are the test of saintliness, life suffers. The Gnostics became indifferent to the social wants of their fellow men. They were the illumined, the spiritual, the saved. There was little impulse to regenerate society. The social tests of Christianity set up by Jesus (Luke 4. 18, 19; Matthew 25. 34-36) were not recognized by them. If the Docetic view that Jesus was not a real man but a mere appearance, in which the heavenly Christ dwelt, possessed socially ethical power, it would have prevailed. It failed because it was divorced from the real needs of life.

The Task of Kingdom Prophets.—Apostasy was checked in the reign of Domitian by a glowing vision of the destruction of Rome and the supernal delights of Christ's kingdom. This prophet was mistaken in details. The empire was not overturned according to his expectations. The Messianic kingdom was not set up according to his program. It never will be inaugurated and conducted by his specifications. But the principle by which he steadied the faith of the trembling church is eternal. The blessings of

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the kingdom of God are incomparable with the splendors offered by the kingdoms of the world. To see and feel this is the only surety of loyalty to Christ. This is the task ever of the prophets of the Kingdom: to present the superior blessedness of Christian life with God.

OPEN PATHS

The Trials of the Road.—Even to earnest, sincere men choice is often a sore trial. Gnosticism was not wholly evil. Had it been it would not have captured such large parts of the church through four or five generations. Sincere Christians may have admitted the expediency of preserving life at the cost of burning incense before the statue of the emperor. At many a hard turning of life there is no clear index pointing the way toward the Celestial City. The road to heaven is not a walled-in highway. There are endless turnings from the main road to test the vision of the traveler.

When the Kingdom of God Is Overdoctrinized It Is Defeated.—It is neither the broadly liberal nor the intensely conservative theologian who advances Christ's kingdom. The citizen of the Kingdom has a creed; but it is a creed that does not thrust itself in front of the social, moral, and devotional needs of life. The Christianity that triumphs ever must stress life's daily needs of moral strength, social sympathy, and spiritual exaltation. This is an intensely practical experience, and the religion that devotes itself to speculation loses its right to command the world.

The Development of Belief.—There was a development in the church's beliefs concerning Jesus, because there was a continually increasing richness in Christian experience of life in fellowship with Jesus. It was Paul's consciousness that Christ dwelt within him which was the ground of his conviction that Jesus was divine, and Christ preëxistent. Every Christian should have a developing Christology. Our religious experience of Christ should enlarge and enrich our conceptions of the person of Christ. When we see the far-reaching implications of his ideals: their spir-

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itual compulsion toward missions to pagan lands, their insistence upon social justice and righteousness, their eternal questioning of social and political institutions, their power to create peace in troubled souls, surely our thought of the person of Jesus broadens and magnifies to the measure of our religious dreams.

Everything New and Different Is Not Heresy.—Every experiment to understand God better does not end in a blind alley. Do not condemn views contrary to what you have held simply because you have not been so taught. Orthodoxy has done as much harm as heresy. It is not necessarily a mark of saintliness to follow old paths. Conservatism badgered Amos into silence, imprisoned Jeremiah, stoned Stephen, beheaded James, crucified Jesus. Orthodoxy hanged Savonarola, burned John Huss, sent Knox to the galleys, drove Wesley into the streets and fields to preach the gospel of love. There may be yet untrodden paths toward the land of truth. The test of Christian truth is its leading toward spiritual and moral living. Do not cherish a road because it is familiar; cling to it only if it is leading you morally nearer your fellow men and God.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What development did the beliefs of the early church undergo?
2. What did heresy mean to the early church? What heresies had to be met?
3. Why did the battle for correct thinking center about the person of Jesus?
4. What were the chief characteristics of Gnosticism? Docetism?
5. State the forces that finally overcame the Gnostic sect.
6. What inducements tempted first century Christians to abandon their Christian life?
7. Discuss emperor worship and its influence upon early Christianity.
8. What effect would the book of Revelation have had upon you in the first century?
9. State the reasons for its being misunderstood so often.
10. What new light does a study of contemporary times throw on the book of Revelation?

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11. State the elements of their faith which made the early Christians victorious.

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CHAPTER XIII

KINGDOM MOVEMENTS OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE

THE spread of Christianity during the period represented by the New-Testament writings was a religious, ethical, and economic movement of amazing proportions. Its triumphs were due not only to its own transforming spirit but also to certain religious and political conditions in the Greek and Roman world which created for Christianity a remarkably free opportunity for its missionary activities. This chapter presents some of these favoring circumstances and also summarizes those elements in Christianity which made it a new triumph in the developing kingdom of God.

JUDAISM'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE KINGDOM OF GOD

The Jewish Dispersion.—There is abundant evidence of the wide dispersion of Jews throughout the Roman world of the first century. Jewish communities were found everywhere. Jews of many countries assembled at Jerusalem at the great festivals (Acts 2. 9-11). It will be recalled that Paul met his countrymen in every place in Asia Minor and Macedonia. From the time of Pompey, 63 B. C., they lived in large numbers in Rome. Many Roman regulations were set aside or construed to their advantage. They were excused from military service, they did not need to conform to the worship of the emperor, they were not summoned before a court on the Sabbath, and all civil suits among themselves were disposed of in their own courts. This free exercise of their religion was secured to them by imperial order. The Jews set up everywhere synagogues and schools. Wherever ten Jews or more were living, there would a synagogue be found. Not only were these powerful agencies in themselves making for a kingdom of righteousness, but

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the synagogue was the starting point of Christianity in nearly every city. It was the center also of a widespread and continuously pursued missionary effort to win proselytes to Judaism. Despite the general dislike of the Jew felt by Greek and Roman, large numbers of them were attracted to the monotheism, the morals, and the Messianic hope of their faith. These proselytes differed largely in the extent to which they conformed to Jewish customs, but simple observances, such as the Sabbath, were common among multiplied thousands of non-Jewish people in the apostolic age.

The Jewish Dispersion a Preparation for Christianity.—The preparation for Christianity made by this widely spread dispersion of Jews is evident. The early Christians themselves were Jews. Their first places of assembly were the synagogues. In some cases, in small communities, the whole Jewish population accepted the new Christian beliefs. Christians, being taken for Jews by the Roman authorities, were allowed the right of assembly, proselytism, and the administration of their common fund. Jewish missions had familiarized Gentile communities with the Old-Testament Scriptures, a monotheistic religion, rich moral ideals, and the Messianic salvation. Christianity was regarded alike by proselyte and public official as a Jewish missionary propaganda with but slightly different message and method. The missionary activity of Judaism in the first century, had it not been overshadowed by Christianity, would have stood forth one of the great Kingdom movements of the Jewish people, if not the greatest.

Greek Language and Thought Aid the Spread of Christianity: Greek Language.—During the first Christian century Greek thought and language swayed a world almost as large as that which acknowledged the rule of Rome. The conquests of Alexander and his successors had scattered Greek colonists throughout almost the whole of the Nile valley and eastward almost to the borders of India. There were hundreds of cities in these lands to which Greek residents had given their language, government, characteristic public buildings, customs, and manners. Although

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the stricter Jews combated this advance of Greek life, Palestine was largely Hellenized. There were many Greek towns in Jewish territory. Herod the Great reëstablished the Greek theater and amphitheater at Jerusalem. The Sadducean party, the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament, and the Septuagint translation of the Jewish Scriptures are evidences of Greek influence upon Judaism. The Roman conquest of the East and the consequent political unity of the Mediterranean world gave free opportunity for the spread of Hellenism in the West. Merchants, slaves, Italian students in Greece, discharged soldiers, traveling physicians, and teachers introduced Greek language and ideas into Italy. At the time Paul was in Rome, Greek painting and sculpture were the style; Greek slaves were employed as cooks, valets, teachers, and physicians in the fashionable houses. Greek books took precedence in Roman libraries. Cicero boasted that Greek philosophy had been mastered by him and turned into elegant Latin. Some of the highest Roman dignitaries affected Greek dress. Noble Roman youths were sent to Athens to be educated. Epictetus delivered his discourses, and Marcus Aurelius wrote his confessions in Greek. It was not until the fourth century that Rome again became a Latin city. Greek was the one universal language of the apostolic age. The vast majority of Jews scattered from Mesopotamia to Spain read their Old Testament in Greek. Greek was the language of the synagogue. The New-Testament writers, quoting from the Old Testament, used the Greek version. The whole of the New Testament was written in Greek. Jesus undoubtedly spoke Greek as well as his native Aramaic. Matthew would have had to know Greek to perform the duties of the customs office at Capernaum. It was the language of Peter and Paul in their public discourses. Greek was the one language of early Christianity. It was the exclusive vehicle of the new religion. Such words as "hymn," "psalm," "liturgy," "homily," "catechism," "baptism," "eucharist," "epistle," "cemetery," "evangelist," "deacon," "presbyter," "bishop," and "pope," all of Greek origin and of early use in the church, reveal

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the indebtedness of Christianity to the language of ancient Greece.

Greek Thought.—It was impossible to speak and write Greek without being influenced by Greek morals and thought. Much attention was paid in the study of Greek to the classical Greek writers. Greek colonists in remote sections of the empire knew the *Iliad* by heart. Greek religious and philosophical ideas were almost as widely known as the Greek language. Some of the outstanding Greek religious ideas that served as highways for the Christian message were (1) the conception of God as a far-off Being, whose activities in the world are mediated by a series of subordinate beings; (2) the belief that the world is evil, is a blunder, the creation of some lower divinity than the supreme Being; (3) the conviction that man is essentially a spirit and that he is imprisoned in this evil world; and (4) the assurance of redemption for man, who must rise through true knowledge into life with God. The various mysteries as well as the schools of philosophy gave expression to these ideas. While in many details they were alien to the Christian message, in general outline they furnished a sympathetic audience for the Christian apostle and teacher wherever the Greek language was known. This Greek social and intellectual outlook is reflected in New-Testament references to athletic contests (Philippians 3. 12-14; Hebrews 12. 1; 1 Corinthians 9. 26); in Paul's familiarity with Greek poetry and Stoic philosophy (Acts 17. 22-28); and in his use of the word "mystery." Paul speaks over and over again to the Christians at Ephesus, Colossæ, Corinth, and Rome, of the mystery of the faith, the mysteries of God, the mystery of Christ, the mystery of the church, and the mystery hidden for ages. He was talking to Greek-speaking Christians, who knew by hearsay—and some of them by initiation—of the great mysteries celebrated annually at Eleusis. The details of these Eleusinian mysteries, guarded by the most solemn oaths, are now lost beyond recall; but the doctrines taught in them, by means of a fascinating ritual, inculcated faith in the gods, deepened the hope of immortality, purified their

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lives, and made them better citizens. It was to a world taught, by these secret and sacred rites of Eleusis, that religion at its highest is a mystical contact with Deity that the Christian message came with its proclamation of a mystery hidden for ages in God, but now revealed in Christ. It was in the assurance that here, in the Christ and in one's soul, and not there, in the dark initiatory hall of the Eleusinian temple, the vision of the eternal verities was to be had which proved the attractive contact of Christianity with the soberer Greek mind.

CHRISTIANITY ASSISTED BY ROMAN LIFE

Roman Protection of Travelers.—The Roman government made travel everywhere safe and provided the means of communication between the distant provinces of the empire. Travel was extraordinarily easy and common. One hundred miles a day by carriage over the great imperial highways might be made. Single travelers rode muleback or walked long distances without fear of robbers. Merchants carried their goods in safety to the ends of the empire. There was recorded on the tomb of a merchant of Phrygia in Asia Minor that he had made seventy-two journeys to Rome. Travel was almost a passion in the first Christian century. To wander through Greece and to sail up the Nile were part of a liberal culture. The roads were filled with soldiers, embassies, merchants, traveling teachers and physicians, tourists, invalids in search of health, and officials of Rome going to and from their posts. In the midst of these moving multitudes Christian missionaries traveled with safety and without attracting to themselves harmful notice.

Roman Law and Religion.—In the earliest days Roman courts secured the missionary against the fanaticism of the Jew and the insolence of Gentile mobs. Paul's Roman citizenship often was his protection. It was not until the reigns of Nero and Domitian that the Christians ceased to seek freely the protection of Roman officials. The laws that authorized the Roman guilds protected also many of the churches. These guilds ministered to the social,

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economic, and religious needs of their members. No doubt in many communities the churches were considered another form of the familiar guild. Two aspects of Roman religious life favored the spread of Christianity. As long as the state religion was recognized, Roman authorities were tolerant of other beliefs and practices. During the first and second centuries A. D. several religions of Asia and Egypt made their way into Italy and the farther West. Since these new religions, with the exception of Christianity, made no attack upon the state religion, it was easier for Christianity, being one of several missionary faiths, to escape condemnation than if it alone had sought to gain a footing in the Roman world. Then, too, these Oriental religions—the worship of Cybele and Attis, of Isis and Serapis—were redemptive religions. Crude and insufficient as they were, their popularity was due to their promise of uniting the worshiper with his gods. The longing for redemption which Christianity supplied was thus quickened by the pagan cults it supplanted. Early Christianity in Rome was not confined to the humble classes. In A. D. 95 some members of the imperial family who had become Christians were condemned to death by Domitian. Among them were Clemens and Domitilla, who was a niece of the emperor. At the same time Glabrio, an ex-consul and a Christian, suffered martyrdom. There were many relatives of the emperors Vespasian and Domitian who became Christians. Among the early Christians were to be found members of the flower of the Roman nobility—several Cornelli, Cæcillii, and Æmillii—men who were magistrates, generals, consuls, senators, and governors of provinces.¹ The decay of the old Latin religion in the upper classes accounts for this favorable attitude toward Christianity on the part of many high-minded Roman men and women. Seneca, the tutor and minister of Nero, had broken absolutely with paganism. He was deeply religious, and many of his writings need little change to place them in accord with the most strict Christian teachers. It would

¹ *Pagan and Christian Rome*, Lanciani, Chapter I.

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have been easy for Seneca to become a Christian. Undoubtedly his writings were highly regarded by earnest Romans of the first and second centuries. He was a torch-bearer of the Christ.

THE CHRISTIAN CONTRIBUTION

Jesus.—Christianity's supreme contribution to the world is Jesus himself. Although brought up in a Jewish home and nurtured upon Jewish religious ideas, Jesus so marvelously lived beyond his kinsmen that he rightfully is everywhere regarded as the Beginner of a new age. His moral and social ideals expressed in his daily attitude to men and in his teaching to the group of disciples whom he associated with himself; his life of trust and obedience toward God; his resurrection, which sealed his life as God's highest revelation of his ethical will,—all these have made Jesus the first Christian. Both in time and in character he is the Head of the vast community that takes his name. Christianity gave Jesus, the source and embodiment of our one universal religion, to the world of Jew, Greek, and Roman, who, each in his own way, had made the necessary preparation for his coming.

Christ.—To the vast multitudes of Jews scattered throughout the world the message of the Messiahship would arouse vast doubt, disbelief, scorn, and antagonism, or else it would thrill them with wonder, hope, and joy. To believe that this crucified Jesus was Jehovah's Christ would create in every Jewish community the spiritual exaltation felt by the Jerusalem Christians in the first glad days of their confession of their Lord. It meant that hope was nearing its harvest time. It was the birth of a new spiritual age. From Jerusalem there ran a stream of wonder and doubt to the ends of the Jewish world. Everywhere the Christian missionary found an eager audience at the synagogue to hear at least his initial message. The Christian message to Jew and Gentile, in its insistence that Jesus is Christ, brought the dreamed golden age from the distant future, where the Jews placed it, and from the happy past, where the pagan located it, into the now and here. Hope bloomed,

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and despair rose from the grave. New meaning was given to struggle, to suffering, to humiliation, to the evil order of the world. The ethical significance of such Messiahship was not at first realized. The death of Jesus was something to be explained away. It had no place in the Messianic program. Yet such an event to the reflecting church had to yield meaning. It had some vital connection with the redemption from sin. It was not long until it was the soul of the gospel that "Christ died for our sins." The heroic martyrdom of Christ later became an ethical impulse to win fellowship with him through similar sufferings (Philippians 3. 10), and by the end of the apostolic age only the disciple who emulated his Lord might occupy the heavenly throne (Revelation 3. 21). To become perfect through struggle against evil was a profound ethical contribution to life made by the Christian preaching of the crucified Jesus as God's Messiah.

Intimacy With God.—Peter declared on the day of Pentecost that a new age of God's dealings with men had been ushered in. Joel, in thinking of the Messianic age, declared one of its marks to be the evident presence of Jehovah in the midst of Israel (Joel 2. 27); and that this presence would be manifested in an extraordinarily heightened spiritual sense such as the disciples experienced at Pentecost. The essence of this Pentecostal experience was a new, joyous, exalting sense of God's presence in the lives of those participating in it. This was an experience which was not granted the disciples by personal contact with Jesus. It could not have come to them apart from the wondering expectation of strange things to come from God, begotten in them by the revolution wrought in their lives by the resurrection of Jesus. The conviction that the risen Jesus was the Messiah was accompanied in the earliest Christians by a profound heightening of their spiritual natures, which in some cases expressed itself in ecstatic language but generally in a new confident tone, a disregard of outward goods, fearlessness in the face of persecution, joyousness in the face of death.

Redemption.—Wherever Jewish or Greek thought con-

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trolled the apostolic age, there was a deep longing for redemption. The world pressed heavily, and no great hope lighted the distant paths of men. The Jew especially expected this redemption in connection with the advent of the Messiah. The Messianic kingdom was to be inaugurated by Jehovah as a vindication of Israel and a judgment upon the Gentiles. It was the rule of God to be introduced from without into Israel, and not something which sprang up in the nation's life from within. Greek thought regarded the world as evil, and man could be saved only by being rescued from it. In all the Greek centers of population, such as Antioch, Ephesus, Smyrna, as well as the cities of Greece, there were numerous associations of men and women bound together in secret societies, who were seeking, through mysterious religious ceremonies, to redeem themselves from a perishing world. All these rites, like those celebrated at Eleusis, sought to unite the initiate with deity. Even the pagan seekers after truth realized that in such fellowship alone was to be found salvation. The Christian gospel proclaimed the advent of the Messianic age, in which the evils of life were surmounted by the splendors of a new heaven and a new earth. But salvation was not altogether delayed until Christ returned. In the meantime there was offered to individuals even a fuller redemption than that which was sought in the Greek mysteries. The living fellowship of the individual with Christ gave such a buoyant sense of life and safety that this experience explains the rapid spread of Christianity among the Greek-speaking people of the world. Men were redeemed not only from harsh social ills and the fear of death but also from the slavery of sins which made life wretched. No message so full of redemption ever has been elsewhere offered the world.

The Church.—The church as an organization for teaching and fellowship undoubtedly was an ethically social factor of great magnitude in the first century of our era. These Christian societies bore enough resemblance to the trade and religious guilds to make them seem natural to Gentile converts and to enable them to escape conflict with

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the authorities; but their religious aims and experiences set them apart from all other societies of the age in ethical achievement. The church, in its services and through its officers, was the essential vehicle through which the Christian message in its fuller details reached the community. No permanent successes in the development of God's kingdom could have been possible apart from church life. Just as the Jews of the dispersion found the synagogue a necessity, so did the Christians realize that only through the frequent assembly of themselves together could the glorious fellowship with Christ be conserved. An isolated Christian cannot long keep his experience.

Christian Literature.—Rising Christianity was compelled to produce a Christian literature. We have seen, in Chapter X, the various situations out of which our New-Testament writings came into being. In every case the Epistle or the Gospel was written to fill some need of the growing church. These books sprang up out of the life of the church and, because they are an expression of the Christian spirit at work to supply some human need, they bear their message to every age. These Christian writings were an exceedingly important contribution to the developing Kingdom. Like the church meetings and officials, they became the vehicle through which the Christian message reached wider circles than the missionaries themselves could touch. Like the church, too, they remain for succeeding ages an extraordinarily valuable exhibit of the life-giving spirit of nascent Christianity.

Christian Leaders.—The church of the first century gave the world some exceedingly fine leaders of the higher life. Who can measure the unending influence upon the world of Peter, Stephen, Philip, Barnabas, Mark, Silas, Timothy, Epaphras, Titus, Luke, Paul, and John? These men continually hazarded their lives for Christ. They lived in glorious fellowship with Christ. They traversed the world of their day to proclaim their Christ. They were the inspiration of multiplied thousands of their fellow men. Their courage, their devotion, their sacrifices, their faith, and their spiritual joys gave glowing illustration of the

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Christian faith. The Kingdom had come and was coming in them, and men who knew them understood what spirit and manner of life God wanted his children to win.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

Principles of the Highest Civilization Uttered.—The preceding chapters have sketched the chief religious movements of the latter two thirds of the first century of our era. No more striking or permanent achievements in the realm of character ever have been produced at any other period of the world's life. The leaders of Christianity in the apostolic age could not have believed else than that they stood at the dawn of God's kingdom. There were indeed vast areas of first-century life which the Christian movement did not touch, but the work was so marvelous that Christian hearts everywhere beat high with Messianic hope. The principles of the highest civilization were uttered then and given their first application to every condition of life. Succeeding centuries have done no more than to apply these Christian convictions with fuller detail to the social order.

Something New in the World.—The close of the first century saw something really new in the world. There were societies of men and women in hundreds of communities far and wide, of different views of life, modes of occupation, and social standing, who were separated from the world about them by a new manner of life. Outwardly this new life was a radiation of love and righteousness. Paul's hymn of love (1 Corinthians 13) expresses the new social spirit. A fraternalism that united without friction bond and free, male and female, rich and poor, Jew and Gentile, was a noteworthy social achievement which commands the admiration of the world. These associations were dominated too by the highest ethical ideals. They were bound by an insistent demand for righteousness. The Christian spirit banned the common vices of the pagan world: "Fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, sorcery, enmities, strife, jealousies, wraths, factions, divisions, parties, envying, drunkenness, revelings, and such

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like; of which I tell you plainly, as I did tell you plainly, that they who practice such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God" (Galatians 5. 19-21). This ideal was not reached everywhere: perhaps fully reached nowhere. That this was the ideal of hundreds of societies from the Jordan to the Tiber is a social fact of extraordinary importance.

A Consciousness of the Universal Church.—These scattered societies were given additional importance by another unusual social fact. There was a strong sense of common interest uniting them into a great fraternity. This bond was greater than race antagonism, social inequalities, industrial occupations, and family ties. The members of one small group, in recalling that hundreds of other churches were vexed by their problems and enheartened by their triumphs, did not feel so keenly their break with their former life. The tension of their spiritual powers was heightened by their consciousness of the universal church.

THE FULLNESS OF TIME

"When the Fullness of the Time Came, God Sent Forth His Son."—Such was the explanation of the religious movements of the apostolic church by its clearest, most heroic thinker. How little thinkers know of the intimate causes of the greatest historical events! But Paul knew that there were no sufficient proximate causes of Christ and the Apostolic Church. When God was ready, the forward movement was inaugurated. This is Paul's philosophy of the stupendous movements of which he was the foremost leader. But there is a fullness of time, a chosen moment, for the minute details of life. We cannot rule out the divine direction of our lives. Running through all our wise and foolish choices there is a higher purpose, which never is ultimately thwarted and, when the time is full, speaks out its eternal will. Let me do my worst, and in God's own time all my evil becomes overruled; all the passion of my selfishness becomes a vanished value. Let me do my best, and lo! at an unexpected hour God garners it with his eternal harvest. God's clock regulates our lives.

Be Sure of God's Will.—Let us keep this conviction that

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God chooses the hour for brighter dawns in the world's life, and we will become his agents in many a successful enterprise. Is a church building to be erected? A man to be won into the body of Christ's disciples? A more righteous adjustment of industrial conditions to be made? A business partnership to be formed or rejected? A residence in a distant city to be considered? A choice of political candidates to be decided? A missionary call to be weighed? There is but one certain way to escape the wrong path. We must be sure of God's will. With that knowledge it is impossible to fail. Does it not seem to you that the fullness of the time has come for certain great movements to be consummated? Need war ever again turn our earth into a hell? Can industry be else than a mingled curse and blessing as long as it is on a competitive and capitalistic basis? Is Christianity or commercialism to capture the civilization of China and Africa? How many more centuries before these problems are to be solved? What reasons are there for supposing that these questions are now at the decision hour?

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. In what way did the Jews prepare the way and help to advance the evangel of the Christ?
2. What position did the Jews of the apostolic age hold socially? economically? politically?
3. Discuss the influence in pagan communities of the Jewish synagogue and school.
4. How did these activities help to propagate the Christian message?
5. Discuss the place and influence of Greek thought and language in the first century.
6. State the significance of four outstanding Greek religious ideas that served as highways for the Christian message.
7. What contributions to the progress of the Kingdom did Rome make during these years?
8. What supreme contribution to the world did early Christianity make?
9. What to the early church did the name "Jesus" mean? "Christ"? Intimacy with God? Redemption?
10. Discuss the significance of the Christian gospel as a message of redemption.

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11. State the value to the advancing Kingdom of the early church; Christian literature; Christian leaders.

12. What principles of the highest civilization were put into practice by apostolic Christianity?

13. Discuss the value to society of the new fraternalism inaugurated by followers of the Christ.

14. To what extent did the thought of a universal church encourage and strengthen local Christian communities?

15. Discuss the power of the socially regenerative influences of Christianity.

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CHAPTER XIV

CHRISTIANITY'S APPEAL FOR WORLD TOLERANCE

IT has been shown that at the close of the first century A. D. Christianity was widely established in the Greco-Roman world and that it had aroused against itself the political power, the industrial life, and the social institutions of the pagan world. These antagonisms were accentuated in the second century. In addition to these forms of opposition there were literary attacks upon the new religion, and Christian leaders sought to meet these criticisms by presenting Christianity in ways designed to win not only the tolerance but also the acceptance of the gospel by Greek and Roman educated classes. Christianity, through a series of brilliant writers, appealed to the intellectual and political authorities of the day for its right to live unhampered within the civil polity and social activities of the age.

THE APOLOGISTS

A Literary Defense of Christianity.—Those writers who set themselves to the defense of Christianity are called apologists. Many of their writings are no longer extant. The earliest of these works now existent is the apology of Aristides, which probably was presented to the emperor Hadrian in the early part of the second century. Justin, a native of the ancient Shechem, in Samaria, though a Gentile, about A. D. 50 addressed an apology to the emperor Antoninus Pius. Tatian, a pupil of Justin, wrote voluminously; but only one of his books, *Apology to the Greeks*, survives. Athenagoras, who called himself "The Assyrian," addressed his *Plea for the Christians* to the philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius. Theophilus, bishop of Antioch

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at about the same time, A. D. 180, wrote three treatises, *To Autolycus*. The *Epistle to Diognetus*, whose author is unknown, also belongs to the last half of the second century. These were all written in Greek. Minucius Felix, a Roman Christian lawyer, wrote his *Octavius* in Latin at the close of the second or the opening of the third century. The very abundance of these writers testifies to the bitterness of the antagonism of paganism and the service they rendered to the kingdom of God.

POPULAR PAGAN IDEAS OF CHRISTIANITY

Minucius Felix States the Common Charges of the Gentile Populace Against the New Religion.—He makes his pagan Cæcilius say to Octavius, a Christian:

You gather together from the lowest dregs the more unskilled, and women, credulous and, by the facility of their sex, yielding, establish a herd of profane conspiracy, which is leagued together by mighty meetings and solemn fasts and inhuman meats; a people skulking and shunning the light, silent in public, but garrulous in corners. They despise the temples as dead houses; they reject the gods; they laugh at sacred things; wretched, they pity, if they are allowed, the priests; half naked themselves, they despise honors and purple robes.¹

Cæcilius also repeats the common report of crimes practiced in the secret meetings of the Christians:

They know one another by secret marks and insignia and they love one another almost before they know one another; everywhere there is mingled among them a religious lust. They call one another promiscuously brothers and sisters, that even a not-unusual debauchery may, by the intervention of that sacred name, become incestuous.²

Cæcilius objects to the Christian mode of worship:

Why have they no altars, no temples, no acknowledged images? Whence or who is he or where is the one God, solitary, desolate, whom no free people, no kingdoms, and not even Roman superstition have known? The lonely and miserable nationality of the Jews worshiped one God; but

¹ Book VIII, Chapter VIII.

² Book VIII, Chapter IX.

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they worshiped him openly, with temples, with altars, with victims, and with ceremonies. But the Christians feign that he who is men's God, whom they neither can show nor behold, inquires diligently into the character of all; that he runs about everywhere. They make him out to be troublesome, restless, even shamelessly inquisitive, since he is present at everything that is done.³

The attack ends in a fling at the Christian expectation of the destruction of the world and the belief in the resurrection of the body:

It is a double evil and a twofold madness to denounce destruction to the heavens and the stars, which we leave just as we find them, and to promise eternity to ourselves, who are dead and extinct.

Theophilus Reports the Conviction of Greek Thinkers that Christianity Is Without Philosophical Standing.—In his third tractate *To Autolycus* he summarizes the views of Christianity held by those who made pretense of learning:

Godless lips falsely accuse us who are worshipers of God and are called Christians that . . . our doctrine has but recently come to light; that we have nothing to allege in proof of what we receive as truth, nor of our teaching, but that our doctrine is foolishness.⁴

Justin Martyr Indicates the Unjust Attitude of the Government.—He points out the unjust hatred and wanton abuse of the Roman administration of justice. To bear the name of Christian, apart from any proved evil action, is a crime:

Those among yourselves who are accused, you do not punish before they are convicted; but in our case you receive the name as proof against us. If any of the accused deny the name and say that he is not a Christian, you acquit him; but if anyone acknowledge that he is a Christian, you punish him. Justice requires that you inquire into the life both of him who confesses and of him who denies, that by his deeds it may be apparent which kind of man each is.⁵

³ Book VIII, Chapter X.

⁴ Chapter IV.

⁵ *First Apology*, Chapter IV.

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THE DEFENSE OF CHRISTIANITY

The False Charges Met by a Strong Literary Defense.—

Many writers met these absurd, mistaken, and half-informed opinions of the pagan world with a voluminous, apologetic literary defense of the new religion. Their writings are worthy the study of the modern Christian not only for a better understanding of the historical origin of Christian theology but also for their literary charm and the thoughtful religious insight and devoutness of their authors' lives.

The Charge of Disloyalty to the Government.—Justin Martyr strongly denies the charge of disloyalty to the state and obedience to the civil authorities:

Everywhere we, more readily than all men, endeavor to pay to those appointed by you the taxes both ordinary and extraordinary, as we have been taught by Christ. To God alone we render worship but in other things we gladly serve you [the emperors], acknowledging you as kings and rulers of men.⁶

Athenagoras ends his *Plea for the Christians*, addressed to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, as follows:

Who are more deserving to obtain the things they ask than those who, like us, pray for your government, that you may, as is most equitable, receive the kingdom son from father, and that your empire may receive increase and addition, all men becoming subject to your sway? And this is also for your advantage—that we may lead a peaceable and quiet life and may ourselves readily perform all that is commanded of us.⁷

The Charge of Immorality.—This was the most popular, widely repeated, and readily believed charge against the Christians. The secret character of their meetings, the prevalent immorality of the pagan world, and the fact that pagan religion laid no moral demands upon its devotees made these unfounded accusations easily believable among the populace.

(a) *Theophilus.*—After a discussion of the Ten Com-

⁶ *First Apology*, Chapter XVII.

⁷ Chapter XXXVII.

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mandments, humanity to strangers, repentance, righteousness, chastity, and love, Theophilus writes:

Consider whether those who teach such things can possibly live indifferently and be commingled in unlawful intercourse or, most impious of all, eat human flesh. . . . Far be it from Christians to conceive any such deeds. For with them temperance dwells, monogamy is observed, chastity is guarded, iniquity exterminated, sin extirpated, righteousness exercised, law administered, worship performed, God acknowledged; truth governs, grace guards, peace screens men; the holy Word guides, wisdom teaches, life directs, God reigns.⁸

(b) *Minucius Felix*.—In his debate between Cæcilius the pagan and Octavius the Christian, Minucius Felix places in the latter's reply to the charges advanced by Cæcilius the following beautiful defense of Christian brotherhood:

We maintain our modesty not in appearance, but in our heart we gladly abide by the bond of a single marriage. We practice sharing in banquets, which are not only modest but also sober; for we do not indulge in entertainments nor prolong our feasts with wine, but we temper our joyousness with gravity and with chaste discourse. We are assembled together with the same quietness with which we live as individuals. We do not distinguish our people by some small bodily mark, as you suppose, but easily enough by the sign of innocence and modesty. Thus we love one another, to your regret, with a mutual love because we do not know how to hate. We call one another, to your envy, brethren, as being men born of one God and parent, companions in faith and fellow heirs in hope.

The Charge of Atheism.—(a) Theophilus meets the charge of atheism, by showing first, that the pagan world itself is without true faith in God; and, second, that the Christians are upheld by a pure and unfaltering confidence in him:

(1) For after they [Greek historians, poets, and philosophers] had said that there are gods they again made them of no account, for some said that they were composed of atoms, and others, again, that they eventuate into atoms; and they say that the gods have no more power than men. Plato, though he says there are gods, would have them composed of matter. Pythagoras, after he had made such a

⁸ Book III, Chapter XV.

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toil and moil about the gods and traveled up and down for information, at last determines that all things are produced naturally and spontaneously, and that the gods care nothing for men. . . . (2) Now, we also confess that God exists but that he is one, the Creator, Maker, and Fashioner of this universe; and we know that all things are arranged by his providence.⁹

(b) Athenagoras follows the same line of argument. He calls attention to the Greek atheist, Diagoras, who "published the mysteries of Eleusis, chopped up the wooden statue of Hercules to boil his turnips, and openly declared there was no God at all."

But to us, [he asks] who distinguish God from matter and teach that Deity is uncreated and eternal, to be held by as understanding and reason alone, is it not absurd to apply the name of atheism? If our sentiments were like those of Diagoras, with reason might our reputation for impiety, as well as the cause for our being thus harassed, be charged upon ourselves. But since our doctrine acknowledges one God, the Maker of this universe, we are both defamed and persecuted.¹⁰

The Charge of Novelty of the Christian Religion.—

(a) Tatian met the charge that Christianity was a new, untried, presumptuous religion by identifying it in essence with the Old Testament and proving to his satisfaction that the Mosaic legislation was older than the most revered Greek philosophy.

(b) Justin Martyr carried Christianity into far earlier times than the birth of Christ. He claimed that among other races, as well as among the Hebrews, Christ, long before his appearance in Judea, was the indwelling spirit of all good men. He boldly claimed that the best in Greek philosophy is a borrowing from Christianity.

THE ATTACK UPON PAGANISM

The Apologists All Attack Pagan Religion.—Each of the Christian writers takes a fling at the absurdities, immoralities, and the shallowness of pagan religious ideas. The idols in common use were made by men, the deities they

⁹ Book III, Chapters VII, IX.

¹⁰ Chapter IV.

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represent were originated by the poets, and the profligacy of the gods makes it impossible to venerate them. These foolish and immoral beliefs are the suggestions of evil demons. Such varied and contrary notions are held of the gods by their pagan worshipers that intelligent men are precluded from honoring such deities.

Theophilus Points Out the Absurdities of Idolatry.—The absurdities of idolatry are thus set forth by Theophilus:

In truth it does seem to me absurd that statuaries and carvers, painters, or molders should both design and paint, carve, and mold, and prepare gods who, when they are produced by the artificers are reckoned of no value; but as soon as they are purchased and placed in some so-called temple or in some house, not only do those who brought them but also those who made and sold them come with much devotion and apparatus of sacrifice and libations to worship them.¹¹

Athenagoras Exposes the Weakness of Pagan Theology.—He calls attention to the fact that the statues of the gods are not deities; they have been made by men. The gods themselves are not eternal. Homer speaks of "Old Oceanus, the sire of the gods." Nonsensical and ridiculous forms are ascribed to the gods: they say Hercules is a god in the shape of a dragon coiled up. Detestable achievements are ascribed to the gods: Kronos, for instance, mutilated his father and hurled him down from his chariot. The gods are guilty of impure loves: Venus is the mother of Æneas. It is said that these statements of the poets are symbols: that Zeus, for example, is fire, and Hera the earth. In such case the gods are nothing but aspects of nature. This reduces the whole pretended order of divine beings into nothingness. Paganism is shut up to atheism or to an immoral and unworshipful race of deities.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

The Cause of Persecution and Calumny.—As the church grew in numbers and in extent throughout the empire, the

¹¹ Book II, Chapter II.

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Christians were subjected to persecution and calumny. Governors exercised their police powers largely according to their own disposition toward the new religion. It was easy for the unthinking, sensual-minded to distort the secret meetings, the common meals, the fraternal greetings, the severe appearance of morality, and the lack of temples and sacrifices into immoral practices and godless beliefs. To the Greek thinker Christianity was an upstart faith, with no philosophical standing and living in the credulity of the masses.

The Apologists Pleaded for Justice in the Roman Courts.

—These apologists insisted that a new religion did not make them wicked citizens and demanded that their trials should take cognizance of character, and not of ill-founded and unjust prejudices against a name. They denied disloyalty to the state. They indignantly repudiated the slanders of crimes and immoralities. They bared to the world the secrets of their services. "Our assemblies are not drunken orgies," says Justin Martyr, "but meetings for prayer, for baptism of novitiates, for participation in the Holy Communion, for thanksgivings and exhortations for holy living, for collection of alms for widows and orphans, for the sick and the impoverished and the stranger among us." It was a great dishonor and injustice for Rome to persecute and kill such noble-minded citizens. The apologists plead for justice, for the right of such a body of high-souled men and women within the social life of the state.

The Apologists Also Sought to Meet the Slurs of Greek Philosophers.—This was done by presenting Christianity as a philosophy. All truth, according to the apologists, is revealed truth; hence, Christianity, which finds its outlines in the predictions of the Old Testament, is the true and highest philosophy. It was no new thing forcing its way into the world; no parvenu when Moses was a Christian, and Plato plagiarized from Genesis. Whatever may be the permanent value of this argument, it undoubtedly met the needs of the second century. Christianity was pressing its way out of a barbarian people into the cultured Greek and Roman world. It had to make good its intellec-

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tual rights to the deference of the pagan mind in order to win its heritage in that day.

The Apologists' Greatest Success.—Perhaps the greatest advantage was won by the apologists for the Christians themselves. It was made clear to them that absolute purity of morals was necessary to win the confidence of the pagan world. Pagan criticism was conducive to Christian circumspection of their own lives. Accusations made the Christian brotherhoods more compact and enriched the social consciousness for maligned followers of Christ. Then, too, they learned to feel the intellectual strength of their faith. Such experiences gave them a new sense of the security of their beliefs and made them the more confident to propagate their religion. The church, in passing through the apologetic age, won a new confidence in itself, a more extensive theology, and new weapons for its glorious warfare to conquer the world.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY APOLOGETICS

Learn to Appreciate the Intellectual Standing of Christianity.—No learning can justly hurl sarcasms at the irrationality of the Christian scheme of life. It justifies itself at the bar of the highest intelligence. It is as reasonable as science. To become a follower of Jesus Christ is not to stultify the mind. Christ tremendously challenges the thought life of any age, and wherever men truly think, life will inevitably shape itself to the forms which were given it by Jesus. Faith has no quarrel with reason. "Come, now, let us reason together," is ever the invitation of Christianity to the non-Christian world. Believe that no true thinking ever will weaken the foundations of your faith in Christ and God.

Every Christian an Apologist.—It is the duty of every Christian to be an apologist. Christian apology is the earnest and studied commendation of the ideals and life of Jesus Christ to the indifferent and doubting. It is your great privilege to give "a reason concerning the hope that is in you." No opportunity for happiness can ever compare with the passing on to other lives the secret of your own

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peace and joy. Remember that the kingdom of God will not come by the passing of laws but by the setting up of ideals. You can do much for your country by your ballot but you can do vastly more by your daily chances to commend the Christ you know to the spiritually poor among your acquaintances.

The Apologetic of Christian Fraternism.—The most powerful Christian apologetic is Christian fraternism. Every vigorous and effective revival of Christian life has developed within a quickened consciousness of brotherhood. Methodism, beginning as a students' club at Oxford College, speedily expressed its dominant spirit of philanthropic and evangelistic sympathies for the poor, the sick, and the sinful. Foreign missions began as an expression of the profoundest Christian feeling after universal brotherhood. Every true growth of fraternism gives birth to evangelistic zeal and active social ministry. The beginning of all new and triumphant advances of Christianity will be conditioned by the range and intensity of our fellowship with our fellow men.

Look for the Good in Men.—Justin Martyr saw Christ in Socrates. John saw the divine light shining in "every man coming into the world." To see the best in the worst of men is the basis of all social ministry, all missionary evangelism. If you count men utterly depraved, you have robbed yourself of your chief social power—sympathy and hope. Claim everything good for Jesus Christ. There is only one God, and "he left not himself without witness" in every creed, in every race, in every blind seeking after happiness.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Why did it seem necessary to produce a literary defense of Christianity in the second and third centuries?
2. Why did the secret meetings of the Christians cause their motive to be misunderstood?
3. What charges were made against them according to Minucius Felix? Theophilus? Justin Martyr?
4. How was the charge of disloyalty to the government met? the charge of immorality?

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5. In what way did Theophilus and Athenagoras meet the charge of atheism?

6. To what extent was Tatian correct in claiming the philosophy of Christianity to be older than Greek philosophy?

7. What place did Justin Martyr claim for Christ in Gentile lands?

8. Discuss the counter charges brought against paganism by the Christian writers.

9. Discuss pagan idolatry and theology. Wherein were both weak?

10. State the questions upon which the apologists made a firm stand for the rights of Christians.

11. How were the slurs of the Greek philosophers met? With what success?

12. What great benefits were conferred upon Christian thinking and life by the work of the apologists?

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CHAPTER XV

THE ETHICAL TASK OF CHRISTIANITY

CHRISTIANITY began with the unfaltering consciousness that religion and moral conduct are inseparable. It advanced into a world where religion and morality were divorced. It was the unswerving insistence that religion required righteousness, justice, and purity in human life which embittered the antagonism of paganism toward Christianity. If Christianity was to keep its lofty character it could not triumph in the pagan world until it had transformed the morals of paganism. Therefore, Christianity faced a heroic ethical task in order to win tolerance and triumph.

MORAL CONDITIONS IN THE ROMAN WORLD

Pagan Critics.—The nobler-minded pagans were profoundly aware that their civilization had fallen upon evil times in those decades in which Christianity was making its way into the towns and cities of the empire.

(a) *Tacitus* (A. D. 55-117), who wrote a history of the reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, gives a distressing picture of Roman conditions during these years from 69 to 96. It will be recalled that Hebrews and Revelation fall within this period:

The subject now before me presents a series of great events and battles fierce and bloody; a portion of time big with intestine divisions and even the interests of peace deformed with cruelty and horror; the whole a tragic volume, displaying in succession four princes put to death; three civil wars; with foreign enemies in great number. . . . We shall see Italy overwhelmed with calamities; new wounds inflicted, and the old, which time had closed, opened again and bleeding afresh; cities sacked by the enemy or swallowed up by earthquakes; Rome laid waste by fire; her ancient and most venerable temples smoking on the ground; the capitol wrapped

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in flames by the hands of frantic citizens; the holy ceremonies of religion violated; adultery reigning without control; the adjacent islands filled with exiles; rocks and desert places stained with clandestine murder, and Rome itself a theater of horror; where nobility of descent and splendor of fortune marked men out for destruction; where the vigor of mind that aimed at civil dignities and the modesty that declined them were offenses without distinction; where virtue was a crime that led to certain ruin; . . . where nothing was sacred, nothing safe from the hand of rapacity; where slaves were suborned or, by their own malevolence, were excited against their masters; where freedmen betrayed their patrons; and he who had lived without an enemy died by the treachery of a friend.¹

(b) *Suetonius*, who lived in the first part of the second century, composed a history of the Cæsars. Of Domitian he says:

His cruelties were not only excessive but subtle and unexpected. The day before he crucified a collector of his rents he sent for him into his bedchamber, made him sit down upon the bed by him, and sent him away well pleased and, so far as could be inferred from his treatment, in a state of perfect security. . . . The estates of the living and the dead were sequestered upon any accusation by whomsoever preferred. The unsupported allegation of any one person relative to a word or action construed to affect the dignity of the emperor was sufficient. Inheritances, to which he had not the slightest pretension, were confiscated if there was found so much as one person to say he had heard from the deceased when living "that he had made the emperor his heir." . . . Not to go into details, after he had made free with the wives of many men of distinction, he took Domitia Longina from her husband and married her.²

(c) *Pliny* (died A. D. 113), a man of letters, an intimate friend of the emperor Trajan, thus speaks of conditions in the latter part of the first century:

I attended in my youth the senate, but a senate shrinking and speechless; where it was dangerous to utter one's opinion, and mean and pitiable to be silent. What pleasure was there in learning, or, indeed, what could be learned when the senate was convened either to do nothing whatever or to give their sanction to some consummate infamy? when they

¹*The History*, Book I, Chapter II.

²Chapters I, XI, XII.

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were assembled for cruel or ridiculous purposes, and when their deliberations were never serious though often sad?³

(d) *Juvenal* (A. D. 60-140), an eminent Roman poet, keenly satirizes the evils of the early second century:

Luxury, more ruthless than war, broods over Rome and exacts vengeance for a conquered world. No guilt or deed of lust is wanting since Roman poverty has disappeared. Money, the nurse of debauchery, was the first that introduced foreign manners and enervating riches sopped the sinews of the age with foul luxury. For what cares Venus in her cups, who at midnight devours huge oysters, mixes unguents with neat Falernian foam, drains the largest drinking bowl? From her dizziness the roof seems to reel, and the table to rise up with lights doubled in number. So, then, and knowing all this, doubt, if you can, with what a snort of scorn Tullia snuffs up the air when she passes the ancient altar of chastity.⁴

Then is he [that is, the average Roman householder] happy indeed whenever the torturer is summoned, and some poor wretch is branded with the glowing iron for stealing a couple of fowls. What doctrine does he preach to his son, who revels in the clank of chains, that feels a strange delight in branded slaves and the miserable slave dungeons? Do you expect that Larga's daughter will not turn out an adulteress, who could not possibly repeat her mother's lovers without taking breath at least thirty times?⁵

Christian Views of Pagan Morals.—After these views of the pagans themselves upon the wretched state of morals the statements of Christian writers concerning the degeneracy of pagan society will not appear unjust:

(a) *Justin Martyr* (about A. D. 150) reproaches pagan society with the crime of abandonment of infants, leaving them to perish, or, what is more likely, to be reared by procurers of lust:

We see that almost all exposed children, not only the girls but also the boys, are brought up to prostitution. As the ancients are said to have reared herds of oxen, goats, sheep, and grazing horses, so now we see you rear children only for this shameful use; and for this pollution a multitude of females and those who commit unmentionable iniquities are

³Book VIII, Letter 14.

⁴Condensed from *Satire VI*.

⁵*Satire XIV*.

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found in every nation, and you receive the hire of these and duty and taxes from them, whom you ought to exterminate from your realm. There are some who prostitute even their own children, and some are openly mutilated for the purposes of sodomy.⁶

(b) *Athenagoras* (about A. D. 175) declares that the pagans reveled in the moral atrocities of which they accuse the Christians:

Those who have set up a market for fornication and established infamous resorts for the young for every kind of vile pleasure—males with males committing shocking abominations—revile us for the very things they do themselves. These adulterers and pæderists defame the eunuchs and the once married [that is, the Christians, who do not marry or, the marriage being dissolved by death, do not remarry] while they themselves live like fishes, gulping down whatever falls in their way.⁷

(c) *Clement of Alexandria*, a learned, liberal Christian scholar, writing about A. D. 200, berates the luxury that has undermined morals. He likens the women of wealth in his city to Egyptian temples, splendidly adorned without but nothing worthy of respect within:

Those women who wear gold, occupying themselves in curling their locks, anointing their cheeks, painting their eyes, dyeing their hair, and, practicing other pernicious acts of luxury to attract their infatuated lovers, imitate the Egyptians. But if one withdraw the veil of the temple—the head-dress, the dye, the gold, the paint, and the cosmetics—he will find that a fornicator and adulteress has occupied the shrine of the soul. Such women care little for keeping at home with their husbands; but, loosing their husbands' purse strings, they spend its supplies on their lusts. The day they spend on their toilet; in the evening this spurious beauty creeps out to candlelight as out of a hole. Drunkenness and the dimness of the light aid what they have put on. As you might expect, they become lazy in housekeeping, sitting like painted things to be looked at. If the god of wealth is blind, are not these women, who are crazy about him, blind too? Having no limit to their lust, they push on to shamelessness. For the theater, pageants, many spectacles, strolling in the temples, and loitering in the streets that they

⁶ *First Apology*, Chapter XXVII.

⁷ *A Plea for the Christians*, Chapter XXIV.

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may be seen conspicuously by all, is necessary to them. As the brand shows the slave, so do gaudy colors the adulteress.

These women are carried about over the temples, spending their time with fortune-tellers, begging priests, and disreputable old women, to the ruin of their nuptial bonds. Some men they keep; by others they are kept; and others are promised them by the diviners. They know that they are exchanging their purity for the foulest outrage, but they think what is the most shameful ruin a great stroke of business.⁸

(*d*) *Tertullian* (A. D. 150-230), who lived in Rome and in Carthage, makes references to the social evils against which Christianity pitted its faith and moral energy.

(1) Cruel sports and punishments were practiced. Criminals, sentenced to die, were compelled to enact some violent death upon the stage:

We have witnessed in a mutilated criminal your god Attis; a wretch burnt alive has personated Hercules. We have laughed at the sport of your midday games of the gods when Father Pluto drags away, hammer in hand, the remains of the gladiators; when Mercury, with his winged cap and heated wand, tests with his cautery whether the bodies were really lifeless or feigning death.⁹

(2) Infanticide and the exposure of infants were common in this corrupt age:

Although you are forbidden by the law to slay newborn infants, it so happens that no laws are evaded with more impunity or greater safety, with the deliberate knowledge of the public and the suffrages of this entire age. . . . You expose them to the cold and hunger and to wild beasts or else you get rid of them by drowning.¹⁰

(3) *Tertullian* also charges the Gentile world with the greatest perversion of the sexual passion:

Most Gentile women, noble in extraction and wealthy in property, unite themselves indiscriminately with the ignoble and the mean, sought out for themselves for luxurious or mutilated for licentious purposes. Some take up with their own freedmen and slaves, despising public opinion, pro-

⁸ Condensed from *The Instructor*.

⁹ *To the Nations*, Chapter X.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Chapter XV.

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vided they may have husbands from whom they fear no impediment to their own liberty.¹¹

(4) Extravagance and luxury for Tertullian are the signs of Roman decay:

What has become of the laws repressing expensive and ostentatious ways of living? which forbade more than a hundred asses [\$1.04] to be expended on a supper? which put down theaters as quickly as they arose to debauch the manners of the people? Suppers now have a hundred sestertia [\$4,000] expended on them. . . . Now, women have every member of the body laden with gold; winebibbing is so common with them that the kiss¹² is never offered with their will; and as for divorce, they long for it as though it were the natural consequence of marriage.¹³

THE MORAL TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY

Christianity Contributed to the Regeneration of Society.—Pagan and Christian writers alike bear witness to the decay of the social order of Roman civilization of the first and second centuries. It is a social fact of supreme importance that Christianity, making its way into the midst of these decadent generations, contributed so greatly to the regeneration of both the individual and the institutions of the Roman world.

Lucian Reflects the Cultured Greek-Roman View.—Lucian, a rhetorician and satirist of the latter part of the second century, in his *Death of Peregrine*, reflects the cultured Greek-Roman view of Christianity prevalent in his day among those who doubted all religion. But in presenting Christianity in this way he bears unconscious testimony to those moral qualities which made Christianity a conquering religion. Lucian represents Peregrine as a knave who dupes the Christians:

It was now that he came across the Christians in Palestine and picked up their queer creed. He pretty soon convinced them of his superiority. The end of it was that Peregrine was arrested and thrown into prison. He was now

¹¹ *To His Wife*, Chapter VIII.

¹² It was once the custom of Roman women to kiss their relatives, that any use of wine on their part might be detected.

¹³ *Apology*, Chapter VI.

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a made man. Everything that could be done for him they most devoutly did. They thought of nothing else. Orphans and ancient widows might be seen hanging about the prison from break of day. Their officials bribed the jailers to let them sleep inside with him. Elegant dinners were conveyed in; their sacred writings were read. In some of the Asiatic cities the Christian communities put themselves to the expense of sending deputations with offers of sympathy, assistance, and loyal advice. The activity of these people in dealing with any matter that affects their community is something extraordinary; they spare no trouble, no expense. You see these misguided creatures start with the general conviction that they are immortal, which explains the contempt of death and voluntary self-devotion which is so common among them; and then it was impressed upon them by their original lawgiver that they are all brothers from the moment that they are converted, and deny the gods of Greece, and worship the crucified Sage, and live after his laws. All this they take quite on trust with the result that they despise all worldly goods alike, regarding them merely as common property. Now, an adroit, unscrupulous fellow, who has seen the world, has only to get among these simple souls, and his fortune is pretty soon made.¹⁴

Second- and Third-Century Christian Witnesses.—The witness of the Christians of the second and third centuries to the pure morals and their source in great religious faith is beautiful and abundant.

(a) *Aristides*.—"Now, the Christians know and believe in God, from whom they have received those commandments which they have engraved on their minds, which they keep in the hope and the expectation of the world to come. Because of this they do not commit adultery or fornication, they do not bear false witness, they do not deny a deposit nor covet what is not theirs. They honor father and mother. They do good to those who are their neighbors, and when they are judges they judge uprightly. They do good to their enemies. Their wives are pure as virgins, and their daughters modest. Their men abstain from all impurity in the hope of the recompense that is to come in another world. Their slaves they persuade to become Christians; and when they have become so, they call them

¹⁴ Fowler's translation of the works of Lucian.

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without distinction 'brethren.' They walk in all humility and kindness, and falsehood is not found among them. When one of their poor passes away from the world, and any of them sees him, then he provides for his burial according to his ability."¹⁵

(b) *Justin Martyr*.—"We who formerly delighted in fornication now embrace chastity alone; we who formerly used magical arts dedicate ourselves to the good and unbegotten God; we who valued above all things the acquisition of wealth now bring what we have into a common stock and distribute to everyone in need. We who hated and destroyed one another, since the coming of Christ pray for our enemies and endeavor to persuade those who hate us unjustly to live conformably to the precepts of Christ."¹⁶

(c) *Tatian*.—A pupil of Justin's, Tatian, states that it was the ethical content of Christianity which won him from paganism: "Having been admitted to the mysteries, having examined the religious rites performed by the effeminate and the pathic, and having found among the Romans their Jupiter delighting in human gore and the blood of slaughtered men, retiring to myself I sought how I might be able to discover the truth. While I was giving my most earnest attention to the matter I happened to meet with certain barbaric writings, too old to be compared with the opinions of the Greeks, too divine to be compared with their errors; and I was led to put faith in these by the excellent quality of the precepts and the declaration of the government of the universe as centered in one Being. My soul being taught of God, I discerned that these writings put an end to the slavery that is in the world, rescuing it from ten thousand tyrants."¹⁷

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

Christianity's Task to Wrest the Empire from the Grasp of Greed and Lust.—It was an evil world that the Chris-

¹⁵ Chapter XV, abridged.

¹⁶ *Apology*, Chapter XIV.

¹⁷ *Address to the Greeks*, Chapter XXIX, abridged.

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tianity of the first centuries set out to conquer. There were, of course, noble Roman families among the rich and the poor which did not succumb to the vices denounced by Juvenal or Tertullian. But the morals of the Romans had declined; and if society were not to end in a hideous orgy, some new regenerative life had to wrest the social institutions of the empire from the fatal grasp of greed and lust. This task fell preëminently to Christianity. It was a gigantic task, and apart from its divine power the saving of the social order would have been impossible.

Early Greek and Roman Religion Furnished a Moral Basis for the State.—The oracle at Delphi was once the religious center of the Greek world. When states were in difficulty and disaster; when potent cities were troubled about public policies; when princes and kings were deliberating peace and war; when men lacked decision concerning marriage, a voyage, an investment, the care of lands and herds; whenever anyone felt himself clouded by uncertainty or failure, he turned to the Delphian Apollo for light. For many centuries the guidance of his priests made for the moral stability of Greek society. Roman religion did the same for the Imperial City. But Greek and Roman religion, based on superstition and myth, lost its power with advancing knowledge of the world. With the loss of religious faith morals declined. Morality can sustain itself permanently only when shrouded in religion. It was the religious decadence of the empire which opened the way for moral ruin.

Roman Immorality a Blight.—Luxury, worship of wealth, inordinate extravagance, crudest vulgarity, became possible to the few with the Roman conquest of the world. With the decay of religion the temptations of the powerful to exploit the helpless were not curbed. Among the classes that did not toil there was vast disdain of the poor and contempt for labor. The work of the world was done by slaves; the freedmen, with exceptions, were parasites upon the state. Vast fortunes were accumulated only to be squandered. The love of wealth caused honesty, good will, justice between individuals and in the courts, almost to

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vanish. Humanity was brutalized. Masters feared the slaves. The slaves were subjected to great cruelties. Public amusements were debauched by licentiousness and inhumanity. Society was effeminate. Sexual license corrupted all human relations. Marriage almost universally was expected to lead to divorce. The temples, public baths, theaters, and the public spectacles were places of assignation. Abortion, infanticide, and abandonment of children to procurers indicated the depth of shame to which the family and the home had fallen. Carnal debasements of every conceivable sort cursed the Roman world.

The Saving Function of Christian Ethics.—Beside this darkness of Roman debauchery Christian morality gleams with heavenly light. The Christian gospel always was presented as salvation from immoral living as well as salvation from the pressure of an unjust economic social order. "It was impressed upon them by their original lawgiver that they are all brothers," wrote Lucian. He recognized that this fundamental principle of Christianity forced a new attitude toward property. "They despise all worldly goods, regarding them merely as common property." It must be recognized that this more-or-less-realized economic fraternalism was a powerful factor in the spread of Christianity in these centuries. But this is only a profound expression of Christian ethics. It was the same feeling of fraternalism which purified the family life, introduced justice into the courts, abhorred the brutal amphitheater, and denounced the sensuality of the age.

The Source and Stay of Christian Morality Is Religion.—It must not be overlooked that the source and stay of Christian morality was religion. Christ had come and gone and was to come again. "These misguided creatures start with the conviction that they are immortal" was for Lucian the final explanation of their lives. The future, with its searching judgment, with its rewards and punishments, was the basis of their ethical life. These beliefs were their inheritance from the generation which knew Jesus. His ethical teachings were given substance by his resurrection.

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The expectation of his coming to judgment was the powerful motive of early Christianity's unique and conquering ethical life.

THE CRYSTAL CUP OF HOPE

Morality Ever Is the End of Religion.—Religion is not intended primarily to thrill us but to purify us from greed, lust, pride, and inhumanity. It is to make us ideal citizens in an ideal world. The kingdom of God is primarily a kingdom of brothers. Fellowship with God is revealed in promptings toward truth, duty, and human sympathy. There is among us a vast deal of ignorance, unrighteousness, and selfish shirking of obligations. Our civilization needs to be penetrated and controlled by a passion for truth, by a glad acceptance of duty, by pure and righteous individual conduct, by justice and freedom in our wider social relationships. God ever seeks the progress of a finer world order on earth. The coming kingdom for which Christ labored was a kingdom of pure and unselfish social living; it was an ideal society of just, sympathetic, and enlightened men and women mutually devoted to a common welfare and finding the inspiration of their lives in fellowship with God.

What Characterizes Christianity?—Unless religion voices these things it is not the religion of Christ. When God speaks to a man to-day, it is not only to draw him into the divine fellowship; it is also to make him a more dynamic person in the heroic task of reconstructing the social order. The hall mark of a divine prompting, now as in early Christianity, is the urging toward individual and community holiness. Whenever any social order permits the few to amass vast wealth to be used by the few, while the masses remain in economic dependence or toil in poverty, that civilization is marked with death-bringing disease. Prostitution and divorce alike are terrible social diseases. Their increase is a process of social death. A feminist movement away from the home and family offers no happy solving of woman's pressing problems.

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Genuine Christianity Dignifies the Individual.—It fixes a man's value not by his race, ancestry, or wealth, but by his manhood: by the fact that he is a human unit in the social order. To speak with accents of sweetness and sunshine, to live cheerfully, to show tenderness toward all frailty, to bear patiently with the ignorant, to keep the door to one's charity open toward the unfortunate, to breathe endless good will toward every creature, is to keep oneself very close to the whispering God. Just to be a good friend, a good neighbor, to be the unwearied lover of the loveless and the lowly, is to draw one's life from the heavenly Father.

The Crystal Cup.—It was this crystal cup of life and hope which the conquering Christianity of the early centuries held up to the parched lips of the pagan world. They drank it and found life. It is this cup the world still needs. Live it in your love, urgent words, and faithful service to the faint and restless souls of your day.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What evil social conditions existed in the Roman world during the first and second centuries?
2. How were these conditions looked upon by the pagan writer Tacitus? by Suetonius? by Pliny? by Juvenal?
3. How did the Christian writers picture decadent pagan morals?
4. What phases of this did Justin Martyr emphasize?
5. How did Clement of Alexandria characterize the life of pagan women?
6. State the four charges against pagan life made by Tertullian.
7. What contribution did Christianity make to the regeneration of the individual and the institutions of the Roman world?
8. Discuss Lucian's putting of the cultured Greek-Roman viewpoint.
9. What was the appeal and power of Christianity socially during the second and third centuries, according to Aristides? Justin Martyr? Tatian?
10. What religious basis did Greek and Roman thought furnish the Christian missionaries?
11. Discuss the saving function of Christian ethics.
12. What is the source and stay of Christian morality?

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READING REFERENCES

History of the Christian Church, Schaff, Volume II, pages 311-85.

The Conflict of Christianity With Heathenism, Uhlhorn, pages 92-149.

The Mission and Expansion of Christianity, Harnack, Volume II, Chapters IV and V.

Roman Society From Nero to Marcus Aurelius, Dill, pages 1-286.

CHAPTER XVI

KINGDOM AND CREED

IN the course of time the emphasis in Christian interests shifted from conduct to belief. The kingdom of God was defined in terms of doctrine, and loyalty to such doctrines was the test of Christian excellence. These doctrines, formulated by bishops and councils, did not supplant the demand for morality in the relationships of life but they did become the primary test of worthiness of membership in the church. This chapter points out this change in Christian history, indicates its causes, and estimates the serviceableness of this new conception of Christianity.

THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT AND THE NICENE CREED

The Sermon on the Mount.—The Sermon on the Mount once was a collection of the sayings of Jesus (see Chapter X). Matthew the apostle assembled these characteristic utterances of Jesus, and they were intended by him—and were so received by his generation—to express the heart of the religion proclaimed by Jesus. They were the principles, the gospel, of the kingdom of God. The citizen of the Kingdom is he who does the will of God. The citizen of the Kingdom is not impatient or angry with his fellow men (Matthew 5. 21-24); is not impure in thought (5. 27-32); is unrevengeful (5. 38-42); is filled with love toward all (5. 43-48); is no caviling censor of the conduct of others (7. 1-5). It is he who does by others as he wishes others to treat him; who ever seeks to dispel ill will, misunderstanding, and quarrels; who thinks helpfully of the poor, the hungry, the naked, the sick, and the prisoner (25. 34-36); it is this person, not he who cries out vehemently, "Lord, Lord," who enters God's kingdom. It is hunger

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for righteousness, purity of life, and meekness of mind and heart which bring men into fellowship with God.

Religion With Jesus Was Ethics, not Metaphysics.—Religion, in the thought and practice of Jesus, is fellowship expressed in pure, righteous, and loving conduct. Here are no metaphysics, but ethics; no philosophy of the universe, but a rule of life; no speculations, but specific injunctions for the ordering of one's business, family affairs, and other social intercourse. To accept these principles changes the moral content of one's life. Fruits of better conduct appear. The man becomes a better husband, a better father, a better neighbor, a better merchant, a better citizen. It is correct moral thinking, not speculative logic, which leads men into approved relations with God.

The Nicene Creed.—The Council of Nicea, A. D. 325, among other acts adopted a creed that was believed by the three hundred and sixteen bishops who signed it to express faithfully the beliefs of the church from the days of the apostles. The Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381, reaffirmed the Nicene Creed with slight changes:

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible: and in our Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds, that is of the substance of the Father, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father: by whom all things were made, both in heaven and earth: who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary, and was made man, was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered, and was buried, and on the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and from thence he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead, whose kingdom shall have no end; and in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father; who, with the Father and the Son together, is worshiped and glorified, who spoke by the prophets: in one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins: we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. And those who say that there was a time when the Son of God was not, and before he was begotten he was not, or that he was of things

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which are not, or that he was a different hypostasis or substance, or pretend that he is effluent or changeable, these the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.¹

With few modifications this creed continues to be the chief doctrinal statement of the Greek and the Roman Catholic Churches. The church, as this and the following chapter will show, was identifying itself with the kingdom of God. To exclude from the church was to take away from the anathematized their citizenship in God's kingdom. Succeeding church councils also declared that loyalty to the Nicene rule of faith gave citizenship in the Kingdom; refusal to confess the creed expunged one's name from the roster of heaven.

The Attitude of the Church.—The attitude of the church of this period appears in the action of the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451: "The Holy Ecumenical Synod defines that no one shall be suffered to bring forward a different faith [that is, from the Nicene Creed], nor to write, nor put together, nor to excogitate nor to teach it to others. Such as dare either to put together another faith or to bring forward or to teach or to deliver a different creed, if they be bishops or clerics, let them be deposed, the bishops from the episcopate, and the clerics from the clergy; but if they be monks or laics, let them be anathematized."²

The Essence of the Nicene Creed.—What is it to which the Christians of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries needed to subscribe in order to remain citizens of the Kingdom? It will be seen that the creed contains both facts and explanations of the facts or inferences from them. The ideal of religion held by these framers of creeds is totally different from the ideal expressed in the Sermon on the Mount. The disciples of Jesus would not have understood this creed. Had he proclaimed it to them, he would not have drawn them from their pursuits in Galilee to become his companions and missionaries. These Galileans would not have known the meaning of "very God of very God, begotten, not made, consubstantial with the Father."

¹ *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Volume XIV, page 164.

² *Ibid.*, Volume XIV, page 265.

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They were not required to accept the eternity and changelessness of Jesus before they were permitted to take up their cross to follow him. This creed would have been unintelligible to them because it moves in the realm of speculation, not conduct; metaphysics, not ethics. Evil men might assent to this creed: but wicked men would not make Jesus their Comrade. The creed and the use the church of those centuries made of it identified orthodoxy and morality, sectarianism and heresy, heresy and immorality. Citizenship in the Kingdom now was regarded as correct logic primarily: correct morals availed nothing unless assent was given to the established creed.

CAUSES OF THE CHANGED EMPHASIS

The Contact of Christianity with Greek Thought.—Re-read the statements of Chapter XIV under the caption "Summary: The Coming Kingdom." With the multiplication of churches and the expansion of Christian influence Christianity undertook what Paul failed to do at Athens—to convince the Greek mind of the reasonableness of the gospel. Then, too, the successes of the new religion drew upon it the criticism of the Greek that it was a peasant's faith: it had in it nothing to commend it to the thinking, philosophical man. It seems now that the service rendered by the apologists was extremely necessary, and that the result of their efforts was inevitable. This result was the introduction into Christianity of a philosophy of the sources of the regenerated moral life which came eventually to be more highly regarded than the life itself. Speculation took precedence over life.

The "Dialogue of Justin Martyr With Trypho, a Jew."—This new spirit is finely expressed in the opening paragraphs of the "Dialogue of Justin Martyr with Trypho, a Jew":

"While I was going about one morning in the walks of the Xystus [a public sheltered promenade at Ephesus] a certain man, with others in his company, having met me, said, 'Hail, O philosopher!' Immediately after saying this he turned round and walked along with me; his friends likewise fol-

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lowed him. I, in turn, addressed him and asked, 'What is there important?' 'I was instructed,' he replied, 'that I ought not to despise or treat with indifference those who array themselves in this dress [that is, in the philosopher's garb] but to show them all kindness and to associate with them. Whenever I see anyone in such costume I gladly approach him, that some advantage may spring from the intercourse.' 'Who are you, most excellent man?' I asked. 'I am Trypho, a Hebrew,' he replied. 'And in what,' said I, 'would you be profited by philosophy so much as by your own lawgiver and prophets?' 'Why not?' he replied. 'Do not the philosophers turn every discourse on God? Do not questions continually arise to them about his unity and providence? Is not this truly the duty of philosophy to investigate the Deity?' 'Assuredly,' said I; 'so we too have believed.'"

This conversation, together with the whole extended argument, throws a stream of light upon the Hellenization of the religion of Jesus. Justin, a Christian teacher and missionary, dresses like a Greek philosopher; he frequents the places where philosophers assemble; he recognizes that philosophy concerns itself with ultimate religious problems; he feels that Christianity is a philosophy older and better than the Greeks knew; he directs his evangelistic appeal to win the assent of a speculative mind rather than the obedience of an aroused conscience. An account of Justin's conversion to Christianity, given to Trypho, shows that this philosophical appeal was a living appeal at least to some of the thoughtful Greeks.

Origin of Sects.—This reshaping of Christianity in terms of Greek philosophy opened the way for numerous sects. There cannot be much difference among sincere men about moral conduct; but earnest men can hold widely diverging speculative opinions. The doctrinal result of Christian apology in the second and third centuries was the rapid growth of sects. Valentius and Marcion were the chiefs of the two widely scattered Gnostic sects, but these in turn were subdivided by their disciples. Manichæism, a Gnostic sect, was a troubler of the church for many centuries. Augustine for a time was one of its followers.

The Arian Controversy.—The immediate cause of the adoption of the Nicene Creed as the test of the Christian

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life was the necessity of checking the spread of Arianism. Arius, a presbyter of blameless life, trained in the famous school of Antioch, was in charge of one of the great churches of Alexandria in A. D. 318. Driven by his philosophical bent of mind, Arius was possessed by the conviction that God is one. This unity of God cannot be infringed upon by the existence of another being of the same substance and eternality as God. Arius thus states his position :

We teach that the Son is not unbegotten nor in any way part of the unbegotten; that he does not derive his subsistence from any matter; but that by his own will and counsel he has subsisted before time and before ages as perfect God, only begotten and unchangeable; and that before he was begotten, or created, or purposed, or established, he was not. We are persecuted because we say that the Son has a beginning, but that God is without beginning.³

The Concern of Arius.—From this statement of his position it will be seen that Arius was concerned that the unity and eternity of the divine Being should not be abridged. Jesus for him was far more than a human being: he was not merely a creature of matter or of the time world. He was created before matter was created and he was a perfect Being; but he was not created out of the substance of Deity, and he is not coeternal with God. Arius did not minimize the worship of Christ nor his part in human salvation. These views of Arius met a large response in the intellectual life of his day. In many ways they were not new. From the middle of the second century, under the influence of Greek philosophy, there had been attempts to reconcile the unity of God with the redemptive work and person of Christ.

Monarchianism.—These views, known by the general name “Monarchianism,” fall into two main groups:

(a) *By some Jesus was regarded as a Man in whom the spirit of God dwelt.* Hippolytus, in his great work *The Refutation of All Heresies* (about A. D. 225), states the position of a certain Theodotus, who championed this view of Jesus:

³ From a letter of Arius to Eusebius, Volume III, *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, page 41.

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Theodotus maintains that Jesus was a mere man, born of a virgin, according to the counsel of the fathers, and that after he had lived in a way common to all men and had become preeminently religious he subsequently, at his baptism in Jordan, received Christ, who came down from above and descended upon him in the form of a dove. Therefore, miraculous power did not operate within him prior to the manifestation of that Spirit which descended and proclaimed him to be the Christ.⁴

(b) *By others Jesus was regarded not as a second divine Person but as the one God who had assumed flesh.* This view was prominently advocated by a certain Praxeas of Asia Minor, who came to Rome about A. D. 180. Victor, Bishop of Rome, A. D. 190-98, and his immediate successors, Zephyrinus and Callistus, gave general assent to the monarchical views advocated by Praxeas. Tertullian, in his tract "Against Praxeas," preserves the latter's teaching.

He maintains that there is one only Lord, the Almighty Creator of the world; that the Father himself came down into the virgin, was himself born of her, himself suffered, indeed was himself Jesus Christ.

THE USE OF CREEDS

For the Instruction of Converts.—There are hints in the New Testament that Christians of the apostolic age were instructed by the use of certain formulated statements of accepted beliefs (1 Timothy 6. 12; 2 Timothy 1. 13; 2 John, verses 9-11). Matthew 28. 19 implies a minimum of creed necessary to baptism, and the Didache, admitting to the Holy Communion only those baptized by this formula, stamps it as its creed. From time to time this baptismal creed was expanded. The need of a fuller statement of belief would be felt by all churches sooner or later. With all expansions the creed was believed to set forth the teaching of the apostles. The Old Roman Creed is one of these early summaries of faith. It ran as follows:

I believe in God, Father Almighty;
And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord,
Who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary,
Crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried;

⁴ Book VII, Chapter 23.

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The third day he rose from the dead,
He ascended into Heaven,
Sitteth at the right hand of the Father,
Thence he shall come to judge living and dead;
And in the Holy Ghost,
Holy Church,
Remission of sins,
Resurrection of the flesh.

This creed was in use in Rome at the beginning of the second century. It probably was called the Apostles' Creed from its first appearance and was designed to instruct catechumens. This need of a creed did not pass away. Even with the interpretation of Christian beliefs in terms of Greek philosophy there were still converts to the faith to be instructed in Christian fundamentals.

To Exclude Sectaries.—In the midst of all the various sects there was a need for a definite faith. The bishops who formulated the Nicene Creed believed that they were expressing the faith of the apostles and considered themselves their true successors. They felt at liberty therefore to exclude all who held a different faith. Hence, the schismatic who did not accept the Nicene formulary was anathematized. He was cast out of the society of the faithful. He was deprived of his citizenship in the kingdom of God. Creed, rather than conduct, became the test of the true Christian. The excommunicated person may have led the purest life; yet if he hesitated at one point of the creed, he was cast out.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE

The Work of Augustine.—During the fourth and fifth centuries the characteristic doctrines of the Catholic Church were developed. Augustine, bishop of Hippo in Africa, almost may be said to have accomplished this task alone. Two outstanding doctrines that have shaped the theology of centuries are (*a*) original sin and native depravity, and (*b*) predestination. Augustine states these doctrines as follows:

Original Sin and Native Depravity.—"God, the author

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of natures, not of vices, created man upright; but man, being of his own will corrupted and justly condemned, begot corrupted and condemned children. For we were all in that one man, since we all were that one man, who fell into sin by the woman who was made from him before the sin. . . . The seminal nature was there from which we were to be propagated; and this being vitiated by sin, and bound by the chain of death, and justly condemned, man could not be born of man in any other state. Thus, from the bad use of free will there originated the whole train of evil which, with its concatenation of miseries, conveys the human race from its depraved origin, as from a corrupt root, on to the destruction of the second death, which has no end, those only being excepted who are freed by the grace of God.”⁵

Predestination.—“We have distributed the human race into two parts, the one consisting of those who live according to man, the other of those who live according to God. These we also mystically call the two cities, or the two communities of men, of which the one is predestined to reign eternally with God, and the other to suffer eternal punishment with the devil. . . . When these two cities began to run their course by a series of deaths and births, the citizen of this world was the first born, and after him the stranger in this world, the citizen of the city of God, predestined by grace, elected by grace, by grace a stranger below, and by grace a citizen above. By grace, for so far as regards himself he is sprung from the same mass, all of which is condemned in its origin: but God, like a potter, of the same lump made one vessel of honor, another to dishonor.”

Augustine's Statements Not New.—Important as these statements are, neither of them is precisely new. But in Augustine's treatment of them, coupled with his extraordinary genius, his services to the church in refuting heresy, in his exaltation of church government, they take on such solid power that they still dominate vast numbers of Christians.

⁵ *City of God*, Book XIII, Chapter XIV.

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SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

A Shift of Christian Emphasis.—The Christian centuries from the early second to the middle of the fifth witnessed a shift of Christian emphasis from a religion of moral conduct and loving fellowship with God and men into a religion whose highest expression was loyalty to philosophical statements about religion's verities formulated by church authority. We see now that this development was a mistake. It is always a blunder to confound creed with character. Christianity was changed from a religion of the spirit into a religion of external authority.

This Change Was Inevitable.—Just as the lapse of Israel's prophetic religion into Judaism, although a period of stagnation, seems necessitated by its historical environment, so the intellectual and political conditions of these early Christian centuries brought to pass this change in the religion of Christ. It is inconceivable now in what other manner the church could have weathered the scoffs of Greek thought, the breaking up of the Roman Empire, and the inrush of the barbarians. Just as Judaism seems the one possible form of Israel's religion which could have withstood the Hellenizing attempts of Alexander's successors, so rigid creed and monarchical government alone seem able to have withstood the opposing forces of Christianity in these trying times.

God's Method.—When God cannot do his best with us he does his next best. The makers of these creeds and doctrines continually affirm that they had not changed the apostolic faith. Yet, without being aware of it, they did introduce momentous changes. Their sincere belief that they acted under the guidance of God witnesses to the continuity of revelation. God was speaking in them the best message which their age would receive. He had a better message for them, but they could not hear it. Probably there will always be a place for speculation in religion, but it must not divorce religion from conduct and fellowship.

THE TEST OF CITIZENSHIP

What About Dogmatic Creeds?—It is natural to apply

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tests to determine who belong to the Kingdom. Even Jesus said, "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, . . . but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven." Spirituality far too often has been identified with rigid adherence to accepted doctrines. In all ages when religion has shrunk from a living experience with God into clinging to the experiences of past generations, the need of a dogmatic statement of beliefs is keenly felt, and loyalty to a creed becomes the test of sainthood. Nearly all the great controversies of the church, the clashes between denominations, the cruelties imposed by the tribunals of the Inquisition, the struggles for reform and trials of heresy, have occurred because the ideal of religion as fellowship with God rebelled against the conception of religion as loyalty to formulated statements about God.

What Is Spirituality?—To be spiritual is to think first, when enumerating the splendors of an age or the triumphs of an individual, of the achievements of virtue, of humanitarianism, of unselfish striving for the common welfare. To place one's confidence in truth, in justice, in purity, and in love, and to hold that these are the supreme life values; something to lose money for if necessary; something for which political power and social leadership must be surrendered if need arise; something to go down to one's death for to make them dominant in civilization when blinded ignorance threatens their destruction.

Kingdom Citizenship.—To be a citizen of Christ's kingdom is to be engaged in propagating it. If you follow Christ's defining of spirituality, there need never pass one of your social contacts into which you have not thrust at least a tiny gleam of the finer life. The essential thing is for you yourselves to be dominated by the spiritual; to have committed yourselves irrevocably to the conviction that civilization enhances essentially by the truth, justice, and good will which permeate our human relationships.

The Imparting of Ideals.—With this view of life unalterably fixed in your thought and feeling you cannot see people without imparting something of your ideals even into the tensest business conversation. Sometimes it is only a

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tone, a gesture, a kindly denial, a smiling face, the unconscious assertion that the man or the woman before you harbors no base thought and contemplates no unworthy action. Make it the rule of your life never to come into touch with any person without giving them a little gift out of the spiritual and you have contributed in the most significant manner to the upbuilding of the world.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. With what were the teachings of Jesus concerned?
2. Discuss the meaning of the Nicene Creed.
3. How was it used by the church authorities?
4. In what ways did contact with Greek thought bring about a change in emphasis in Christian teaching?
5. What light does the "Dialogue of Justin Martyr With Trypho, a Jew" throw upon the Hellenizing process?
6. Discuss the Arian controversy and its results.
7. What was the essence of the teaching of Monarchianism?
8. Discuss the use of the creed made by the early church.
9. What part did Augustine have in the development of Christian doctrine?
10. Discuss "original sin and native depravity."
11. What influence upon modern life has the doctrine of "predestination"?
12. What influence upon practical life did the shifting of emphasis to creeds have?
13. State the intellectual and political conditions responsible for this change.

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CHAPTER XVII

KINGDOM AND CHURCH

THE transformation of the Christianity of Jesus into the Christianity of the Roman Catholic Church of the Middle Ages is, with few or no exceptions, the most striking movement of history. A survey of the process and its causes, by which a religion of the inner life developed into a religion of external formularies and political system, illumines not only the history of religion but the expressions of religion and the meaning of religion to-day.

THE PRIMACY OF THE ROMAN CHURCH

The Church at Rome the Acknowledged Leader.—At the close of the apostolic age the Christian community at Rome was the acknowledged leader among the various churches. There were numerous causes that contributed to this primacy. This church was located in the capital of the empire; its membership was large, due to its evangelistic zeal and to continual removals from the provinces to the imperial city; some of its members were quite influential; it possessed considerable wealth; it was active in charity; and it had been instructed by the two greatest apostles—Paul and Peter. The mother church at Jerusalem lost its leadership by its failure to keep in fraternal relations with Gentile Christianity and by the destruction of the city in A. D. 70. We have seen (Chapter XI) that at the close of the apostolic age the chief officer in a local church was its bishop. The early part of the second century the bishop had become the monarchical ruler of his church community. To strengthen his authority, it was easy to believe—what probably was asserted with sincerity—that the bishops had been appointed by the apostles and, therefore, were reliable guardians of apostolic teaching and practice. The bishops of those churches which had been founded by the apostles—

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namely, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome—enjoyed unusual preëminence.

THE PRIMACY OF THE ROMAN BISHOP

The Primacy of the Roman Church Assumed by the Roman Bishop.—When the bishop became the official representative and ruler of the church, the primacy of the Roman Church was naturally assumed by the Roman bishop. Two important controversies of the second century indicate that the primacy of the bishop of Rome was recognized generally. The Montanists, a sect that spread rapidly through Asia Minor, being persecuted by the Asiatic bishops, sought recognition from Eleutheris, bishop of Rome. At the same time the church of Lyons, in Gaul, sent its representative to Rome in connection with the same controversy. This appeal of Christians at both extremes of the Christian world to the bishop of Rome indicates at this time (A. D. 177) his place of first importance. The decision of the bishop of Rome was adverse to the Montanists, and the Roman bishop's attitude eventually led to their suppression. Another controversy concerning the proper date to celebrate Easter, became acute about 190. Victor, bishop of Rome, issued an edict excommunicating every congregation that did not follow the practice of Rome. This edict aroused much protest from his fellow bishops, but in the end the decision of Rome definitely settled the date of the Easter observance for Western Christendom.

Irenæus on the Primacy of the Roman Church and Bishop.—The primacy of the Roman Church and, consequently, of its bishop, at the close of the second century is expressed by Irenæus, bishop of Lyons:

We put to confusion all those who assemble in unauthorized meetings by indicating that tradition derived from the apostles of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known church founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles—Peter and Paul. It is necessary that every church should agree with this church on account of its preëminent authority.¹

¹ *Against Heresies*, Book III, Chapter 3.

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The Roman Bishops Claim Control Over the Entire Church.—In the third century the bishops of Rome claimed the right to exercise control over the whole of the church. Stephen excommunicated the churches of Africa and Asia because they maintained that heretics and schismatics on being received into the Catholic Church must be rebaptized. Firmilian, a bishop of Asia Minor, in a letter to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, makes clear this claim of Stephen and his own indignation at the action of the bishop of Rome:

I am justly indignant at Stephen, who so boasts of the place of his episcopate and contends that he holds the succession from Peter, on whom the foundations of the church were laid. . . . How great sin have you [Stephen] heaped up for yourself when you cut yourself off from so many flocks? For while you think that all may be excommunicated by you, you have excommunicated yourself alone from all.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF CHRISTIANITY WITH THE CHURCH

A New Conception of the Church After the Decian Persecution.—During the third century, when the bishops of Rome were striving to express and maintain their primacy, conditions that arose through the far-reaching persecutions of Christians by the emperor Decius (A. D. 250) became the occasion of the identification of Christianity with the church. Decius ordered all Christians to adopt the state religion and to sacrifice to the gods. Many Christians were faithful unto death, but large numbers, especially among the rich and prominent, apostatized. After the storm had passed, those who had sacrificed to idols sought fellowship again in the Christian community. Some of the strictest churchmen thought they ought never to be taken back into Christian fellowship; others made it quite easy for the lapsed to regain their Christian standing. Those who suffered for the faith by loss of property, by imprisonment, or by death came to regard themselves and were regarded by many others in possession of the right to grant forgiveness to the lapsed. Many flagrant abuses, destructive of ecclesiastical order and moral discipline,

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arose. It was in reaction against this laxity toward apostasy that a new conception of the church became dominant.

Christianity Identified With the Church.—Cyprian (A. D. 200–58), bishop of Carthage, held that the apostatized might again be received into church fellowship after due repentance and penitence. Those among the lapsed who were not so received, and all who received them in any other way had no part in the church and no fellowship with Christ. Cyprian declares:

He who forsakes the church of God cannot attain unto the rewards of Christ. He can no longer have God for his Father who has not the church for his mother.² Whosoever he may be, and whatever he may be, he who is not in the church of Christ is not a Christian.³

The Church Identified With the Episcopacy.—Cyprian not only limits Christianity to church membership but also clearly states that the episcopacy essentially constitutes the church. It is impossible to be in the church and not be in relations of fellowship and obedience with the bishops:

There is one God, one Christ, one church, and one chair founded upon the rock by the word of the Lord. [This chair for Cyprian is the episcopacy.] Let no one, beloved brethren, make you to err from the ways of the Lord; let them remain outside the church who have departed from the church; let them be without bishops who have rebelled against bishops.⁴

Here Cyprian naturally assumes that he who is separated, in obedience, from his bishop, is without the church. But in Epistle LXVIII he becomes exceedingly explicit:

They are the church who are a people united to the priests and the flock which adheres to its pastor. Whence you ought to know that the bishop is in the church and the church in the bishop; and if anyone be not with the bishop, then he is not in the church.

Cyprian gave positive expression to a conception of the church and the church's relation to the Kingdom which the persecutions and factions made imperative. From the

² *On the Unity of the Church*, Chapter VI.

³ Epistle LI.

⁴ Epistle XXXIX.

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middle of the third century the idea of the church was a great autocratically governed state whose rulers were the bishops. Cyprian, although he calls the bishopric of Rome "the place of Peter" and "the sacerdotal throne," also expressly insists that the episcopal power resides jointly in all bishops consecrated by Catholic authority. But it was only a process of time until the primacy of the Roman see was fully recognized in Western Christendom.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE CHURCH WITH THE ROMAN PAPACY

The Fourth Century.—The increasing authority of the Roman bishop during the century after Cyprian is seen in the following incidents:

(a) *The Donatist controversy was referred to the bishop of Rome for settlement (A. D. 313).* The Donatists arose in North Africa. They maintained that the validity of the sacraments depended on the pure character of the clergy who administered them; the Catholics held that the validity of the sacraments depended on Christ and on their administration by properly ordained priests. The character of the latter had nothing to do with the efficacy of the sacraments. The Donatists appealed to the emperor Constantine, who referred the controversy to the bishop of Rome for adjudication. The letter of the emperor to the bishop of Rome is given by Eusebius in his *Church History*, Volume X, Chapter V.

(b) *Athanasius and other oppressed adherents of the Nicene Creed, living in Alexandria and the remoter East, appealed to Julius, bishop of Rome (A. D. 337-52).* Julius sent these bishops back to their churches with letters to their persecutors, charging them with violation of the canon law. Julius claimed that the synod that deposed the bishops who had appealed to him was illegal, since the Roman bishop had not been invited to attend. The controversy is recorded in the history of Socrates, Book II, Chapters XV and XVII.

(c) *The Council of Sardica (A. D. 344) decreed that the bishop of Rome is the court of official appeal in the church.*

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(d) *Letter of Jerome (Epistle XVII) to Damasus, bishop of Rome (A. D. 377).*—Jerome states that the church of Antioch in Syria is rent in three factions, but that all of them professed to cleave to the Rome bishop. Jerome asks Damasus to say which faction he favors and declares his own loyalty, saying, “He who clings to the chair of Peter is accepted by me.”

(e) *Siricius (385-98), the first bishop to issue what may properly be termed a papal decree.*—It was framed in the tone of supreme authority and was designed to promote the celibacy of the clergy. In discussing this subject he wrote: “No priest of the Lord is free to ignore the statutes of the apostolic see.”⁵

The Fifth Century.—(a) *Innocent I (A. D. 402-17) greatly advanced the growth of the papacy.* He wrote to some bishops of Illyria: “I adjudge it to be an insult to the apostolic see that any hesitation should have occurred in a matter referred to and decided by that see, which is the head of all the churches.” To the bishops of Africa, who sent him a report of the Council of Carthage, he declared: “You have not thought fit to trample under foot those institutions of the fathers, that, whatever may be done in provinces, they should not account concluded till it had come to the knowledge of this see; that all other churches might thence take what they should teach, just as all waters issue from their native fountain.”⁶

(b) The papal position was greatly strengthened both by the claims and the public service of Leo (A. D. 440-61). (1) Leo’s conception of the Roman bishopric may be seen in the following words taken from his sermon on the third anniversary of his pontificate: “In my humble person Peter is recognized and honored, in whom abides the care of all the shepherds, together with the charge of the sheep commended to him, and whose dignity is not abated even in so unworthy an heir.” Leo carried on an extensive correspondence through all of which he insisted upon the

⁵ *Source Book for Ancient Church History*, Ayer, page 416.

⁶ Abridged from *History of the Christian Church*, Hurst, Volume I, page 726.

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supreme authority of the bishopric of Rome. (2) Twice Leo was able to save Rome from destruction. In 452, when Attila, king of the Huns, was threatening Rome, Leo, with two companions, entered Attila's camp and, by remonstrances and gifts, persuaded this ruthless conqueror to spare the city. When Genseric, the leader of the Vandals, pillaged Rome in A. D. 455, Leo pledged him to forego burning the city and slaughtering its inhabitants.

Gregory the Great Bishop of Rome (A. D. 590-604).—

(a) *With Gregory I the papacy, both as an autocratic ecclesiastical rulership and as a temporal power, was fully established.* Gregory was born in Rome and was descended from a wealthy patrician family. In 573 he became prefect, the highest official of the city of Rome. But in the midst of his political career he gave up his public honors, turned monk, gave his property in charity and to establish monasteries, and turned his palace on the Cælian hill into a convent. In 590, much against his will, he was chosen pope.

(b) *Gregory extended the primacy of Rome.* He did so, not so much by direct assertion of the prerogatives of the Roman episcopate, although he asserted the supremacy of Rome in uncompromising fashion ["I know of no bishop who is not subject to the apostolic see when a fault has been committed"], but rather in that he acted constantly upon the assumption of his primacy in the widest and most detailed relationships with the churches of the East and the West. The following words addressed to the bishops of Sicily illustrate the spirit and method of Gregory in making good the claims of the Roman see to universal obedience:

Gregory, servant of the servants of God, to all the bishops constituted throughout Sicily: We have plainly perceived it to be very necessary that, even as our predecessors thought fit to do, we should commit all things to one and the same person; and that where we cannot be present ourselves, our authority should be represented through him to whom we send our instructions. Wherefore, with the help of God, we have appointed Peter, subdeacon of our see, our delegate in the province of Sicily.

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This policy of establishing papal legates in districts beyond Rome was widely practiced.

(c) *Gregory insisted everywhere upon pure living and the practice of justice.* He insisted that the bishops should give themselves to preaching and to the spiritual guidance of their churches. He insisted that "the ruler should always be pure in thought, inasmuch as no impurity ought to pollute him who has undertaken the office of wiping away the stains of pollution in the hearts of others; for the hand that would cleanse from dirt must needs be clean." Gregory used the vast revenue of the Roman Church to alleviate distress. The moral and benevolent character of his rule greatly augmented his power.

(d) *The political and temporal power of the papacy first came to distinct recognition in Gregory.* The invasion of the Lombards so weakened the imperial government in Italy that the pope was the only outstanding person upon whom could fall the responsibility of conserving the best of the old Roman order. The necessities of the situation forced Gregory to become a political ruler. Undoubtedly he saw the advantages that accrued to the papacy, but apparently Gregory did not covet the new responsibilities. During these changing times he appointed governors of cities, issued orders to generals, became the only ruler of Rome, and treated, like any temporal prince, with the Lombard king. By the end of Gregory's episcopate the papacy had become a state as well as a church. The city of the Cæsars had become the city of the popes.

(e) *The wealth of the Roman see previous to Gregory's pontificate and during his tenure of office became very large.* The possession of these landed estates, amounting to more than a million acres, justified Gregory's political activity; and the revenue from these lands, aggregating a million and a half dollars annually and spent entirely in benevolence, tended greatly to overcome antagonism to the Roman see. This wealth accumulated rapidly in the latter part of the sixth century. The barbarian invasion of Italy destroyed, exiled, or drove into monasteries many wealthy families. In numerous cases such families deeded their

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lands to the Roman prelate. These estates were scattered far and wide and, under Gregory's administration, contributed greatly to the aggrandizement of the papacy.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

Christianity Becomes a Church.—The present chapter, together with the preceding, indicates the transformation of Christianity from a religion of the spirit into a religion of externals; into loyalty to intellectual definitions and obedience of bishops. This was a sad decline from the lofty ideal of Jesus. But, looking back to those centuries, it seems now that no other type of Christianity than this external organization could have survived the breaking up of the Roman Empire and the barbarian invasions.

Influences That Tended Toward the Papacy.—While there was further development of the papacy beyond Gregory, the main outlines of the Roman-Catholic system were fully laid down by the close of the sixth century. Many and varied influences made possible the claims of the Roman bishops and the final acceptance of their claims by Western Christianity. Some of these are:

(a) *Rome was the only great city of the West, and this church was the only apostolic church of the West.*—It speedily became large, prosperous, exceedingly benevolent, and actively missionary. It did not give itself so freely to speculation as the Eastern churches, therefore was more conservative, changed slowly, and was more orthodox. Then, too, located in the imperial capital, all its traditions were of empire. Its bishops generally possessed the Roman legal mind and genius for political organization. The idea of a divinely founded and eternal empire was inherited by the church from the imperial government.

(b) *Certain historical events contributed to the growth of the Roman-Catholic system.*—Most important among these were the removal of the capital of the empire to Constantinople, which gave the bishop of Rome greater freedom in the West; the invasion of the barbarians ruined and scattered the ancient and wealthy Italian families,

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whose removal placed the bishops of Rome in the leadership of Roman interests in Italy; the fall of the Western empire left the church as the only representative of the old common life, and the surviving Romans of the provinces turned the more readily for guidance to the church of Rome.

The Chair of Saint Peter.—It was such influences as these and the need of church unity and outward organization which enabled the bishops of Rome to seize upon the words of Christ to Peter and wrest them into divine authority for their claims to supremacy. By the end of the sixth century the Kingdom had become a church. The episcopate, reaching its essential expression in the bishop of Rome, was held to be a divinely given order in which the Holy Spirit continued his guidance of God's people.

CHURCH BUILDERS

What Is the True Relation Between the Kingdom of God and the Church?—Can one belong to God's kingdom and not be a member of the church? Church membership has no mysterious efficacy to transform character. The church should be regarded as the school of the Christian life. Within its services, fellowship, and social tasks its members should discover and appropriate the lessons and the discipline of Christian character. The church is not now and never has been a community of saints. The church, regarded as a school, has room for persons of varied beliefs and different stages of character achievements. Its fundamental bond of union would be the desire to know and to experience nobler life and the belief that this higher life is to be found in the teaching and fellowship of Christ. Such a church could say to all non-church people: "Come with us into the school of Christ. We do not profess a sainthood of achievement but of longing. We know that we have not fully accomplished but we are upheld by our aspirations. Let us live in the midst of Christ's ideals until their glory compels us to reproduce them within ourselves."

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A Living Proposition.—Such a church never can be externalized in creed or office; in ancient formularies or modern organizations. Its power will be the spiritual longings of its members: its unity will be secured by its universal aspiration after life's spiritual goals. There is ever the tendency to externalize religion by conformity to some outward expression of a past religious impulse; to be satisfied with church attendance, tithing one's income for religious interests, serving in some official position in a charity or missionary organization. Some active relationship to outer life will spring from a true religious experience; but religion itself is something finer, something more intimate, something more real, than any outward act or loyalty which may spring from it. Religion essentially is comradeship with God.

New Occasions Ever Teach New Duties.—Religion ought to find new outward expressions with the changing ages. The entrance of Greek thought into Christianity and the breaking up of the Roman Empire occasioned the church of the Middle Ages, an autocratic government. But the government is not the essential thing; not the primary thing; not the permanent thing. The awakened and growing spiritual life within man is the dominating element of religion, and this life of the spirit will need changing institutions and creeds from age to age. Beware lest, in clinging to the transient form, the eternal experience is silenced.

Toil for an Ideal.—Recall the men who made the papacy. They did not labor primarily for themselves; they toiled for an ideal, for the men who should come after them. It was this abandonment of their lives to a cause which won them their triumphs. The permanent victories are won through unselfish struggles. The trophies I win for myself quickly perish: those I win for my cause endure. Let us live our lives in behalf of the forward movements of God's kingdom, and our sacrifices take on immortality.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. How came the church at Rome to be the acknowledged leader among the Christian communities?

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2. By what process did the Roman bishop assume the primacy of the Roman Church?
3. Discuss the views of Irenæus on Roman primacy.
4. Discuss the circumstances following the Decian persecution which created a new conception of the church.
5. How came the church to be identified with the episcopacy?
6. What conditions made possible the development of the papacy?
7. Describe some of the steps in the process.
8. Outline the part taken by Gregory the Great in establishing the papacy.
9. What essential change took place in Christianity when it became a church?
10. State some of the historical events that strengthened the papacy?
11. How were Jesus' words to Peter twisted to give the papacy Scriptural backing?
12. What influence has the papacy had upon the Kingdom?

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CHAPTER XVIII

CHRISTIANITY'S APPEAL TO PAGAN EUROPE

PREVIOUS chapters have dealt with the missionary expansion of Christianity in Mediterranean lands. With the exception of the interior of Asia Minor no reference has been made to the extension of the gospel among primitive heathenism. Christianity won its early triumphs among a Greek-speaking people. When it passed beyond the Greek world it still was moving during the early centuries within civilized areas. This chapter sets forth something of the missionary activities of the church in Christianizing northern Europe.

THE CHRISTIAN WORLD OF A. D. 350

The Roman Empire Nominally Christian.—The Roman Empire at the middle of the fourth century became the increasing prey of the barbarians. At this time it extended from England to Armenia. Its northern boundary was marked by the Rhine and Danube; its southern by a fringe of coast in northern Africa. Rome and Constantinople were its capitals. This Roman world may be said, in a loose sense, to have been a Christian world. Christianity was known in all its great centers. The bishops of York, Lincoln, and London were present at the Council of Arles in A. D. 314. There were resident bishops in all the populous centers of Gaul, but the masses undoubtedly were still pagan. The same conditions held for German territory incorporated within the empire. There were Christian communities in the large towns, but their numbers were not large, and the majority of the people still clung to their ancient religious practices. The older sections of the empire were much more Christianized. In many parts half or two thirds of the population had become Christian.

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Soldiers, merchants, slaves, and missionaries, impelled by their own enthusiasm, had carried the gospel through this vast area. But there is no record of any church adopting a missionary program or sending forth a missionary band into the waiting world.

The Barbarian Invasions.—About the middle of the fourth century there began some remarkable migrations of barbarian peoples across Europe into the civilized Mediterranean lands. Taking with them all their possessions, whole tribes left their ancient abodes and crossed the boundaries of the Roman Empire, where, by conquest or peaceable treaty, residence was secured. At the middle of the second century the Goths left their lands lying along the Baltic Sea and slowly moved southward. By A. D. 200 they had established themselves along the northeast shores of the Black Sea and the lower Danube. They frequently overran Greece and Asia Minor. In 376 about one hundred thousand of these Goths were given permission by the emperor to cross the Danube and settle within the empire. Under Alaric in 395 they ravaged Greece, invaded Italy, and sacked Rome (410). Alaric's successors established a West Gothic kingdom on both sides of the Pyrenees by 420. Other pagan tribes possessed themselves of other portions of the empire. The Vandals won North Africa in 429; the Franks swept south from the mouth of the Rhine and held the major part of Gaul at the beginning of the sixth century; in the fifth century the Angles and Saxons were taking possession of Britain; the Burgundians were in Alsace and Switzerland by the middle of the fifth century; Italy and Illyria belonged to the East Goths; Saxons, Jutes, Frisians, Thuringians, and many other German tribes were to the north of the ancient limits of the empire.

THE CHRISTIANIZING OF THE GERMANS WITHIN THE EMPIRE

The Witness of Slaves.—It is probable that nearly all of these Germanic peoples had many Christians among them before they crossed the boundaries of the Roman Empire. This is clearly true of the Goths. On their raids

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into Asia Minor during the early part of the third century they had borne home with them Christian prisoners. These slaves, like the Jewish maid in Naaman's household, did not keep silent about their religion. Women and children usually were the first to hear the message of Christ, but sturdy warriors too gave up their idols. But this Christianity had no effective leadership.

Ulfila, the Apostle of the Goths.—Ulfila was born among the Goths in A. D. 310 and at thirty years of age was consecrated bishop of the Goths by the bishop of Constantinople, at this time the leader of Arian Christianity. He won great success among his people, organizing the scattered Christians into churches, instructing them, and translating the Scriptures into the Gothic language. When the Goths crossed the Danube in 376, the whole of these migrants were Christian.

Other Missionary Influences.—From the middle of the fourth century to the time of Gregory I the German peoples were in constant motion and therefore came into contact with Christianity in various ways. Thousands of Christian captives were carried off in their numerous raids into Roman territory; barbarian soldiers serving in the armies of the empire carried home with them the new religion; traders exhibited their religious beliefs as well as offered their wares; exiled Christians and fugitives from the empire contributed something to the leavening influences. Then, there was the open-mindedness of the later barbarians to learn the religion that seemed to lie behind the culture of the southlands. Finally, wherever the barbarians crossed into the empire, they eventually all became Christians.

CHURCH MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES IN PAGAN EUROPE

Christian Missions in Ireland.—It is not known when or by whom Christianity was introduced into Ireland. In A. D. 431 Bishop Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine to the Christians in Ireland. These Christians probably were slaves, shipwrecked sailors, fugitives, and returned mer-

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chants and soldiers. However, the conversion of Ireland was due mainly to Saint Patrick, who, consecrated bishop by the bishop of Auxerre in Gaul, entered Ireland in 432 and labored until his death in 461. Patrick in his boyhood had been a slave in Ireland. Its wretched heathenism awakened in him a passion to make the people acquainted with Christ. He was both missionary and church organizer; and while paganism was not extinguished in his day, Ireland has had a continuous Christian history since his time. Irish Christianity of this period was monastic Christianity. Hundreds of monastic settlements for men and women were established throughout the island. To become a Christian was to enter a convent. Some of these monasteries had thousands of Christians living within their walls. These Irish convents were schools of learning. Ovid and Vergil were explained, and Greek authors were faithfully studied. To critics who questioned their devotion to the liberal studies they replied: "If we have the knowledge of God, we shall never offend God; they who disobey him are those who know him not."

A Mission to the Germanic Tribes in England.—The invading Angles, Saxons, and Jutes drove the Celts, who to some extent had been Christianized during the Roman occupation of Britain, into the rugged and mountainous sections, and the land once more was pagan. Gregory the Great, before he was elevated to the papacy, had his interest aroused in England as a mission field by the sight of some English slaves in the Roman forum. When he became pope he purchased some English slave boys to train them as missionaries to their people. But his interest could not wait so long, and Augustine was chosen to head a mission to England. He landed with about forty followers on the shores of Britain in A. D. 597. Æthelberht, king of Kent, was the most powerful English prince at this time. The learned Bede (673–735) in his *Church History* preserves the account of the meeting of Augustine and the king of Kent:

Augustine and his companions, sending to Æthelberht, signified that they were come from Rome and brought a

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joyful message, which most undoubtedly assured to those that hearkened to it everlasting joys of heaven. . . . Some days after, the king . . . ordered Augustine and his companions to come and hold a conference with him. He had taken the precaution that they should not come to him in any house, lest by so coming, according to an ancient superstition, if they practiced any magical arts, they might impose upon him and so get the better of him. But they came endowed with divine, not with magic power, bearing a silver cross for their banner and the image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a board; and, chanting litanies, they offered up their prayers to the Lord for the eternal salvation both of themselves and of those to whom and for whom they had come.

Æthelberht listened attentively to their message but declined to accept the novel religion. But he gave them residence in Canterbury and liberty to preach their Christian message. However, within a few months the king was baptized, and Christianity was securely implanted in England. From Canterbury missionaries went forth into other petty kingdoms. Success did not always come at once nor was it always permanent. Heathenism made many efforts to stamp out the new religion. But Christianity, bringing a wider outlook, a constant influence toward order and unity, an impulse toward purer morals and intellectual achievements, gradually displaced the paganism of the contending tribes and became the most dominant force in the development of the English nation.

The Franks Accept Christianity for Political Purposes.

—The Christianizing of the German tribes began with the baptism of Clovis, the Frankish king, on Christmas Day, A. D. 496. Three years previously Clovis had married Clotilda, a Burgundian princess and a Christian. She set herself to convert her husband. Half persuaded by his wife and convinced by the manifest wisdom of choosing Christianity as a state policy, Clovis threw in his fortunes with the new religion. Many of the Roman-Gallic subjects of Clovis were Christians, and the Goths in southern Gaul, whom Clovis wished to drive across the Pyrenees, were Arian Christians. Thus, the choice of the king drew himself and his subjects into closer unity and arrayed on his

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side the Catholic Church in his struggles with the Goths. Clovis came to look upon his campaigns against the Arian Goths and the pagan German tribes as religious wars.

The Frankish Church Without Spiritual Power.—The Frankish Church under Clovis and his successors flourished exceedingly. It had little connection with Rome until the pontificate of Gregory the Great. It was a national church dominated by the Frankish kings. But the Christianity of the Franks was far from ideal. The most frightful crimes were perpetrated. Greed, sensuality, and ignorance characterized the clergy. Gregory of Tours writes of bishops who commonly were carried away from the table drunk; bishops rode armed to battle, engaged in brawls, adulteries, robberies, and assassinations. Pagan altars stood opposite Christian churches, and men worshiped at both shrines. Gregory the Great endeavored to awaken the Frankish Church to better things. He could not do much, but he inaugurated the beginning of a nobler day. He set up a new intercourse between Rome and Gaul; he held up a purer Christian ideal before a half-pagan people; he compelled a new type of bishop to be known where the episcopal office had become the leading opportunity for avarice, lust, and general lawlessness. The pontificate of Gregory in its relations with Frankish Christianity may truly be regarded as one of the church's missionary activities of the seventh century.

MISSIONS TO PAGAN GERMANY

The Irish Missionaries.—The children of Saint Patrick were filled with an indefatigable zeal to spread their religion into distant lands. The ascetic passion and the mission passion were united in them. They located hermitages beyond the reach of man, yet they ever moved out of their seclusion to win new converts to their monastic Christianity. Columba was a restless missionary. He carried the first gospel message into northern Scotland, visited many islands of the Scottish coast, and built the famous Iona convent, where he died. During the sixth and seventh centuries monasteries were established by these Irish missionaries

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not only in Italy, Switzerland, and France, but also among the Frisians and Saxons of pagan Germany. These Irish monks usually traveled in bands of twelve, preaching, planting churches, and gathering their converts into monasteries and nunneries. The most famous of these Irish missionaries in Europe was Saint Columbanus. He first crossed into Britain, then into Gaul, where a decadent Christianity existed among the Franks and Burgundians. Columbanus spent several stormy years among the Franks, seeking to purify their religion, but finally was expelled. Then he lived a brief time among the heathen Alemanni, at Bregentz on Lake Constance. Here, with impetuous zeal, the missionaries burned the temples and threw the idols into the lake. These violent measures infuriated their heathen neighbors, but the monks held on and later, at Saint Gall, established a monastery famous for many centuries. Columbanus later built a monastery at Bobbio in Italy among the Lombards, where he died.

Anglo-Saxon Missions in Northern Europe.—(a) *The failure of the Irish missionaries.*—Irish missionaries failed to organize their work effectively. It was due rather to the missionaries of Britain, with their greater genius to organize churches, to train a native priesthood, to govern monasteries, and to accomplish their work in fellowship with Rome and under papal direction, that the German tribes were won to Christianity.

(b) *Wilfrid, bishop of York, the first Anglo-Saxon missionary to pagan Germans.*—In A. D. 678, accompanied by a numerous band of monks, Wilfrid landed among the Frisians, who occupied all the northeast of Germany. He was hospitably received, and that year many chiefs and thousands of their people were baptized. Wilfrid was followed a few years later by another Saxon—Willibrord—who, with eleven companions, went to Utrecht. A native Frisian church was organized, but little permanent success was attained.

(c) *Boniface the pre-eminent missionary to the Germanic pagans.*—Boniface was trained in a West-Saxon monastery and, refusing his election to the abbacy, set out for

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Frisia. Two years later, A. D. 718, he was in Rome to seek approval of his mission. The next three years were spent with Willibrord at Utrecht. Then he began a mission in Hesse and was successful in winning thousands of converts. He was called to Rome and consecrated bishop by Gregory II. His episcopal vows pledged his supreme loyalty to the papacy. He was to set up the practices of the Roman Church in his missions and have no fellowship with bishops who did not conform to the canons recognized by Rome. In 732 he was consecrated archbishop by Gregory III and made the papal legate in the northern lands. From Hesse, Boniface passed into Thuringia. Everywhere Boniface won pagans to the Christian religion and corrected abuses among the lax and indolent priests and monks. Here, as in Hesse, he founded schools, churches, and convents for men and for women. He established the episcopal sees of Wurzburg and Erfurt in Thuringia. He wished to preach to the pagans of Saxony, but Gregory III sent him into Bavaria to reorganize the churches, where four bishoprics were established to bring the Christian communities into conformity to Rome. From 742 to 753 Boniface was engaged in reforms affecting the Frankish Church. At Dokum, in 754, he and his party were set upon by savages and slain.

(d) *Charlemagne exhibits another type of missionary zeal.*—The Saxons long had regarded Christianity as the mark of Frankish domination. Charlemagne marched against them in A. D. 772, threw down the national idol at Eresburg, and pillaged its temple. In 776 the Saxons attacked the Franks but were defeated by Charlemagne, and the humbled Saxons promised to become Christians. Many thousands were baptized at a great assembly at Paderborn in 777. Numerous missionaries, sent among the Saxons by Charlemagne, destroyed the pagan sanctuaries. Several rebellions broke out, and thousands were beheaded by Charlemagne; and from 795 to 804 thousands of Saxons who refused to be loyal Christians were banished. After a third of the population had been exiled, the remainder of the pagans yielded.

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SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

Papal Christianity Given to the Pagans.—It was not the Christianity of Jesus or of Paul which was established in these pagan lands; it was the Christianity of the Nicene Creed and, eventually, of the papacy; and such Christianity did not make an impressive and unescapable appeal to the moral life. It was a prolonged task to mold the morals of paganism into conformity to the Sermon on the Mount. It has not yet been done. But it was better than paganism, and its acceptance by northern Europe was a noteworthy epoch in history.

Characteristics of the Missionary Conquest of the Germanic Nations.—There are at least four interesting elements in this missionary conquest of the Germanic nations. It was an ascetic and monastic Christianity that undertook the more heroic tasks and accomplished the more far-reaching results. Women played no mean part in the Christianizing process. The Christian wife of Clovis was the chief agent in his conversion. Bertha, the Christian spouse of Æthelberht, prepared the liberal mood in which the king received the mission of Augustine; and many of the noblest and noted women of England followed their kinsmen to pagan Germany to spend their days in convents to train the women who came to them out of heathenism. The abbesses of the English nunneries frequently came from royal families. The third noteworthy aspect is the leadership taken by Irish and English Christians in the evangelization of the continent. Finally, the missionary expansion during these centuries tended toward the aggrandizement of the Roman Church. The seed sown in the papal mission of St. Augustine bore a hundredfold.

The Church Silently Molds a Better Humanity.—These centuries, in spite of all barbarism, were great centuries. The Roman Empire in the West passes away; barbarians possess themselves of the fair provinces of the once glorious realm of Rome, but civilization recovers itself anew. New nations, young, vigorous, and alert, arise and hold in their keeping the destiny of Europe; but through all this inde-

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pendence and brutality the church is silently molding them into a better humanity. Many abuses the church could not overcome; many evils were tolerated within the church; Christianity was far from pure and holy: but the general tendency was toward civilization and a nobler world order. The Kingdom was coming.

THE MISSIONARY TORCH

Christianity Is Essentially Missionary.—Jesus lighted a new ideal of life through his teaching and his living and, touching the hopes and fears of his disciples until their lives too flamed into triumph, sent them forth to blazon a new individual and social goal. The Christian experience of Jesus and of those who knew him best was in essence missionary. It lived by restatement. It flowered in publication. Any Christianity that keeps its message to itself is an adulteration. Any Christian whose religious thinking is not a passion to carry the gospel to the nearest and to the farthest man, socially and geographically, does not belong to the inner company of Christ.

Shall We Blame or Love?—The church has committed many crimes in the name of religion. It has perpetrated enough wrongs and been indifferent toward enough just cries for help to arouse in many persons antipathy and denunciation. But the church often has been the bulwark of a decadent age. It rendered the world an incomparable service when the Roman Empire was going to pieces. The Christian missions of the fifth to the eighth centuries saved the world from ruin. The church never yet has been ideal. It still shrinks from individual evangelism, foreign and domestic missions, and especially from an earnest and unhesitating leadership in the economic clashes of modern society. Our criticisms of the church must be in love, not hate; in hope, not despair. Let us love the church with new passion and give it a worthy and glorious place in the conflict between right and wrong.

The Bettering of the Church Ever Has Been Accomplished by Individuals.—It is not done by legislation nor

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by some miracle of mass movements. Individual men and women, seeing the great need, must give themselves to the great task. Patrick, Columba, Columbanus, Willibrord, Boniface, Augustine, Gregory—these are the great names of the age we have been studying. They waited for no social uprising; they faced the masses with their individual vision. By stripping themselves of luxury they possessed the spirit of hazard unto death. God alone knows the need, of our age, of men and women who can dare all for the Christian conquest of the institutions of the world. In the midst of appalling need we must lift our souls to God. He will gird us for the great task.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. To what extent had the empire been Christianized by 350?
2. By what methods had Christianity been advanced in the Roman world?
3. Discuss the character of the gospel message during this period.
4. What efforts were made to Christianize the barbarians before they crossed the boundaries of the empire?
5. Discuss the influence of Ulila.
6. Discuss the nature of the Irish missions.
7. In what way did Christianity win in England at this time?
8. Discuss the conversion of the Franks and the character of their Christianity.
9. What did Gregory do for the Frankish Church?
10. What was the method of the Irish missionaries?
11. Discuss the missionary work of Wilfrid, Boniface, and Charlemagne.
12. Discuss the part women had in these missionary activities.
13. From which sections came the missionary spirit and the evangelists?
14. How did the missions in northern Europe strengthen the papacy?
15. In what sense was the extension of the church from the sixth to the eighth century the salvation of civilization?

SELECTED READINGS

A History of the Christian Church, Walker, pages 129-34, 195-202.

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The Church and the Barbarians, Hutton, pages 113-42.

The Latin Church in the Middle Ages, Lagarde, pages 1-30.

The Medieval Mind, Taylor, Volume II, pages 169-204.

Source Book for Ancient Church History, Ayer, pages 564-614.

CHAPTER XIX

THE MONASTIC IDEAL OF THE KINGDOM

No chapter of Christian history is richer in interest or more the subject equally of praise and blame than that which tells the story of that ideal of piety and that mode of life termed monasticism. At the center of the best monastic life was the desire to fulfill Christ's own conception of human privilege and duty—namely, to live as brothers devoted to the will of God. Any effort to fulfill such an ideal has a place in the developing kingdom of God. That such multitudes of men and women through several centuries found the convent a spiritual household makes an understanding of monasticism important to every student.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM

The Origin of Monasticism.—The roots of monasticism are to be found in the mystical and ascetic tendencies of the Christianity of the apostolic age. To know Christ fully was to withdraw from even some of the lawful activities of life. Fasting was the simplest form of the ascetic life, but celibacy was always the chief asceticism. At an early date female ascetics received ecclesiastical recognition. Apparently, from the quotation below, there were organized communities for women by the middle of the third century. By this date there were also male ascetics who lived the hermit life near the towns and villages. A certain Anthony, whom the church Fathers soon called the Great, was the inaugurator of Christian monasticism. He was the son of a well-to-do Egyptian family of the village of Coma. Athanasius (296–373) has written his biography:

About six months after the death of his parents, going according to custom into the Lord's house, he communed with himself and reflected as he walked how the apostles

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left all and followed the Saviour; and how they in the Acts sold their possessions and brought and laid them at the apostles' feet for distribution to the needy, and what and how great a hope was laid up for them in heaven. Pondering over these things, he entered the church, and it happened that the gospel was being read. . . . "If thou wouldst be perfect, go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor; and come and follow me, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven." Anthony, as though God had put him in mind of the saints, and the passage had been read on his account, went out immediately from the church and gave the possessions of his forefathers to the villagers. . . . Having committed his sister to known and faithful virgins and put her into a convent, he henceforth devoted himself outside his house to discipline. So for nearly twenty years he continued training himself in solitude, never going forth and seldom seen by any. After this, when many were eager to imitate his discipline, and his acquaintances came, Anthony persuaded many to embrace the solitary life. Thus it happened that cells arose even in the mountains, and the desert was colonized by monks, who came forth from their own people and enrolled themselves for the citizenship in the heavens.¹

The Hermit Not a Monastic.—Egyptian monasticism reached its height by 400. Multiplied thousands of men and many women embraced this way to save their souls. This Egyptian ascetic life, strictly speaking, was not monasticism; it resembled much more closely the solitary hermit's life. This form of asceticism spread into Greek lands, where, under Saint Basil, it took on an epoch-making form that has continued until our day. Gregory Nazianzen, in his panegyric on Basil (329-79), says:

He reconciled most excellently and united the solitary and the community life. These had been in many respects at variance and dissension. He founded cells for hermits, but at no great distance from his cenobitic communities.²

Basil believed that the monastic life was superior to the hermitage. His monks lived under a common rule, ate at a common table, were engaged in the same labors and philanthropic ministries, and united in the same prayers.

¹ *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Volume IV, page 196 ff., abridged.

² *Ibid.*, Volume VII, page 415 f.

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Monastic Life Introduced Into Rome by Athanasius in 339.—By the end of the fourth century there were numerous monasteries for men and women in Rome and throughout Italy. Highborn patrician ladies made it the vogue in western Europe. Paula, her widowed daughter, whose funeral car was followed by the nobility of Rome, and of whom Jerome declared, "In my writings she will never die," Eustochium, Mancella, and Sophronia are names of nuns recruited from families of position and wealth which live in Jerome's pages. "I had the joy," writes Jerome to Principia, a nun of Rome, "of seeing Rome transformed into another Jerusalem. Monastic establishments for virgins became numerous, and of hermits there were countless numbers."

Monasticism Spreads.—Augustine introduced the monastery into Africa, and during the fourth century monasticism became widely established in Gaul. Saint Martin, of Tours, is the foremost of these early founders. At Poitiers, in 362, and at Tours, in 373, monasteries were organized by him. From Gaul monks traveled to Ireland and thence to England and Scotland; and from Ireland the movement swept back with new force into Gaul under Columbanus and his followers.

THE BENEDICTINE RULE

Benedict.—After Basil, Benedict is the next great name in monastic history. Born of a noble Umbrian family near Spoleto in 480, he was sent to Rome to be educated. Recoiling from the city's licentiousness, he withdrew from the world and became a monk. Three years were passed in solitude near Subiaco. Disciples flocked to him here in such numbers that he established a monastery. Later he migrated to Monte Cassino, in which monastery his Rule was developed. This was to govern monastic life for more than seven centuries. Previous to Benedict the monastic life never had been sharply defined and regulated by precise vows and detailed rules. Often to assume the monastic habit was quite sufficient to set one apart for the monas-

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tic life. It was Benedict's mission to formulate a practical code for the life within the monastery.

The Benedictine Rule.—The monks rose early, usually at two o'clock, and repaired to the church for what was called the night office, which consisted of fourteen psalms and certain other Scriptures chanted throughout. This service lasted from an hour to an hour and a half. Then followed a period, brief in summer, longer in winter, devoted to private reading of Scripture or prayer. Lauds, a chanted service in the church, were celebrated at dawn; and Prime, similarly constituted, at sunrise. Each of these required a half hour. The monks then turned to manual labor. Each monastery had its gardens, fields, mills, bakery, and various shops. It was designed to supply its own wants. Dinner was eaten sometimes at twelve, sometimes at three. The remainder of the canonical hours of prayer, consisting of brief chanted services—Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Complin,—were distributed through the afternoon and ended at twilight. Vespers, in summer, were followed by supper, and all retired to rest before there was need of lighted candles. In this schedule about four and one half hours were devoted to the daily chanting of the church services. This was preëminently the “work of God”; but the six or seven hours given to manual labor were also a real service of worship. To labor was to pray. From three to five hours were spent in daily reading of the Bible and the church Fathers.

The Object and Government of the Monastery.—The monks were bound to the monastery where they took their vows, and they were obligated for life. The aim of Benedict was to train men into saintly living; not to raise up priests, missionaries, and educators. The monastery in some particulars was a democratic community: it was governed by an abbot, who was elected for life by the suffrage of all the monks. Other officials were appointed by the abbot and held office according to his will. The abbot was required to counsel with his monks, but all decisions were made by him and the others were bound to obey.

Benedictine Influence.—The Benedictine Rule was in-

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troduced by Augustine in England and was spread by Boniface through Frankland and established in his missions among the pagan Germans. In time it supplanted all other conceptions of the cenobitic life throughout the region of papal influence. It must be kept in mind that there was no Benedictine order. Monks were under the authority of their own abbots only. No monastery exercised jurisdiction over any other. The Benedictine Rule was adopted by the several convents because it best expressed the monkish ideal. The monks of this period of Benedictine influence, until the rise of the religious orders, were laymen. Under the Benedictine Rule only sufficient monks were ordained to conduct the church services. The abbots themselves were not usually priests.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS

Reformed Benedictines.—By the tenth century many abuses crept into the monasteries, and monks and nuns were not always living up to the Benedictine ideal. The spirit of reform was the opportunity for the rise of religious orders.

(a) *Cluny was the first of these.*—The order takes its name from the monastery established at the French village of Cluny in 910. During the next two centuries, under the leadership of its abbots, who were men of character and ability, Cluny, both by building new monasteries and by persuading others to accept its leadership, extended its sway until more than three hundred monastic establishments became subject to Cluny. The abbot of Cluny was the sovereign of all the monks within these subject convents; he appointed all the various priors; every member of the order had to spend some years at Cluny; and the abbot also appointed his successor. This order, especially in its abbots, wielded great influence and power. The abbey church at Cluny, until Saint Peter's at Rome was completed, was the largest Christian church in Europe. The order itself was the greatest religious force in the Latin church of two centuries. The internal reforms, if they may be considered such, consisted in the abandonment

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of manual labor and the lengthening of the church services until they occupied nearly the whole day.

(b) *The Cistercians*.—In 1098 a monastery was founded at Citeaux, whose monks began to live strictly in accord with the Benedictine Rule. Within a few years this monastery, with its dependencies, rivaled Cluny in its influence and in course of time supplanted the laxer order. The Cistercians reached their greatest power during the fifteenth century, when they numbered about 750 convents. In government each monastery was under its own abbot, as the Benedictine Rule provided. But the abbot of Citeaux was accorded inquisitorial rights in all monasteries, and the abbots of all the convents of the order assembled in annual chapter at Citeaux, to whose authority all establishments were subject. The Cistercians reinstated the strict Benedictine Rule. Manual labor, which Cluny had discarded, was established rigorously. The Cistercians became the great farmers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They were expert sheep, cattle, and horse breeders, and contributed largely to the commercial progress of Western Europe. Their operations became so vast that lay brothers, who did not participate in the chanting of the offices, were enrolled in the order. To them fell the chief labors of the fields and shops. At times there were as many as three hundred lay brothers in one abbey.

(c) *The Trappists*.—In course of time the Cistercians relaxed their rules. But something in the strict monastic ideal never ceases to appeal to the world. In the Cistercian convent of La Trappe in France a stricter rule was established in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Modeled after the early Cistercians, this order continues to the present day. Its members exist in many countries and possess more than half a hundred establishments.

The Augustinian Canons a New Departure in Monastic Life.—In order to regulate better the life of priests in the eleventh century, in many places the clergy took the monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, and were organized into congregations. Their rule was drawn from the writings of Saint Augustine. The monastic life for

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them became the means through which they could better serve the churches and people as priests. The houses of the Augustinian canons became very numerous during the later Middle Ages. Most of them, however, did not survive the Reformation.

The Mendicant Orders.—In the thirteenth century the centers of civilization began to shift from the feudal estates to the towns and cities. New intellectual, social, and political horizons opened. The growing commerce of the towns and the increasing importance of handicrafts and guilds were revealing and adding a new value to man. Perhaps the need of the poor in the towns, together with a new sense of their value, set men thinking again of the lowly ministry of Jesus. At any rate, the mendicant friars, modeling their lives upon that of the Nazarene, arose and went forth to minister to their age.

(a) *The Franciscans.*—This religious fraternity arose in 1209, with the decision of Francis of Assisi to leave his father's home and, in imitation of Jesus, devote himself to the care of the sick and the service of the poor. This ideal found many responsive hearts. At the time of Francis' death, twenty years later, at least fifty thousand men had assumed the Franciscan habit and lived the Franciscan life. Their ideal was poverty and service. They possessed no land, handled no money, accumulated no wealth. So far as possible they labored to supply themselves with food; when no chance was found to earn their daily food, they begged. The order spread into all lands and by the time of the Reformation numbered at least 100,000. The Franciscans have had a stormy history but they exist to-day, in three branches, to the number of 25,000. The Capuchins, who have kept closest to the original ideal of poverty and the spiritual ministry of the poor, have more than 500 monasteries and are to-day at work in nearly 200 mission stations.

(b) *The Dominicans.*—This order was founded by Dominic, an Augustinian canon, at Osma, in Spain. Seeing the need of preaching to heretics, pagans, and the poor, Dominic organized his order of preaching friars in 1215. The friars

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were bound by the Augustinian Rule. Like the Franciscans, they were to possess no income but were to live by charity and begging. Their only property was churches and their monasteries. But the Dominican Friars were bound to no individual house, but to the order. Their missions extended to the still pagan districts of Denmark, Poland, Prussia, and Russia. They undertook also missions to China, Tibet, Mohammedan countries, Persia, India, and the Americas. They settled in university towns and became leading professors in the great medieval universities. They were the chief promoters of the Inquisition. They have to-day more than three hundred friaries.

(c) *The Carmelites*.—At about the middle of the twelfth century eleven crusaders became hermits on Mount Carmel. A century later these hermits, who had increased in number, were driven by the Moslem conquest of Palestine to Cyprus, from which place the order spread through western Europe. By this time the hermit life had given place to the cenobitical, and the order was organized on the mendicant model. The order became popular and influential. They were known as “White Friars,” from the white mantle worn over the dark brown garb. They still carry on missions in South America, India, and Persia, and number some two thousand friars.

(d) *The Augustinian Hermits*.—At about the middle of the thirteenth century the popes succeeded in uniting various groups of hermits of Italy into a religious order governed by the Rule of Saint Augustine. It soon was modeled after the other mendicant orders and rapidly increased. At the threshold of the Reformation these numbered some two thousand friaries and thirty thousand monks. The order possesses more than a hundred houses in Europe and America.

MILITARY AND REDEMPTIVE ORDERS

The Military Orders.—The crusades against the Moslems called for the two classes of orders here indicated. The Knights of Saint John developed out of a hospital for pilgrims in Jerusalem and about 1120 assumed military

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character. The Knights Templars began as a military order in 1119, and their first temple was the present El-Aksa Mosque in Jerusalem. The Teutonic Knights were constituted during the third crusade in 1198. These three orders followed the Augustinian Rule and were bound by the monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Their avowed object was to fight the battles of the cross in Moslem lands.

The Orders of Ransom.—These were instituted to rescue Christian captives from Mohammedan lands. The Trinitarians, founded in 1198, were chief of this type of religious communities. They followed the rule of the Augustinian Canons. At one time they possessed eight hundred convents. Vast sums were raised to ransom captives; but when money failed, the members of the order offered themselves in exchange for Christians held captive by the Moslems. The order still has several hundred members, who devote themselves to the ransom of Negro slaves.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

Benefits of Monasticism.—There were, of course, vast abuses which cursed monastic life. The vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience frequently were transgressed. The church has much in these centuries for which it must blush with shame. But the monastic orders, like the creeds and the papacy, are the natural evolution of their times. It was a tumbled world through which Christianity was making its way from the fall of the Roman Empire until the modern age dawned in the Renaissance; and the barbarous, superstitious greeds and lusts were not kept wholly without the Christian society. It is the glory of the monks that they were trying to save their *souls*. They kept alive the sense of the worth of the human spirit in a crass age. Multiplied thousands of men and women became of this mind. There were enrolled among them some of the most cultured, the most intellectual, the most human, and most devout men of their generations. Certain social invalids—the poor, the sinful, the exiled, the outraged, and the aged—sought these houses of refuge; but the vast majority of

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these men and women were recruited from the prosperous and the strong. To mention Benedict, Gregory the Great, Augustine of Hippo, Augustine of Canterbury, Columbanus, Boniface, Bede, Alcuin, Lanfranc and Anselm of Bec, Hildebrand, Bernard, Francis of Assisi, Dominic; the later Franciscans, Roger Bacon, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus and Occam; the Dominicans, Thomas Aquinas and Savonarola; the Carmelites, Saint Teresa and Juan of the Cross, and the Augustinian hermit, Martin Luther, is enough to lift monasticism into the respect of the world.

Humanitarian and Other Contributions.—Incidentally, in saving their souls, the monks established the first hospitals and the first insane asylums (Valencia, Spain, 1409); became the librarians of their centuries; cleared thousands of acres of European wilds and laid them under cultivation; built some of the finest and most-enduring edifices of their times; taught the dignity of toil and the beauty of a well-ordered life; became the exemplary farmers of western Europe; introduced Sunday rest among the toilers of Europe; became the scholars and the physicians of their age; were the final arbiters in many a quarrel of state; were the bulwark in the wars against the infidel; and were the great missionaries of the church during many centuries.

THE NARROW GATE

Christianity Ever Asks for Man's Supreme Devotion.—It challenges the last element of human loyalty and devotion. "If any man would come after me, . . . let him take up his cross, and follow me" is the unbroken primary law of Christian discipleship. The monastic life was an attempt to follow Jesus. The great monastic leaders, especially Francis and Dominic, held his ideal. Monasticism at its best was not cowardice but heroism. It was a brave effort to enter in by the narrow gate. No one ever really entered into the Kingdom except by the narrow gate of much renunciation. Mission lands are praying for hospitals, schools, and churches. Our cities are teeming with evils whose tragedies implore the fortunate to dedicate their

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possessions to the advancement of the common welfare. Perhaps you should rededicate yourself to that which ever is the crying need and begging opportunity of Christian discipleship: the presenting in private conversation the claims of Christ upon the thought, love, and action of your nearest fellow men.

God Wants You to Hazard Something for Jesus Christ.

—If you shirk all the heroic tasks of the world, who will not brand you through all eternity as a skulking coward? To the end of God's day a penalty remains for those who, having it in them to be heroes, choose instead to remain in the crowd for whom the heroes fight and die. To say that our sympathies lie with Jesus is not enough to number us among his disciples; real discipleship is measured by the sacrifices we make on his behalf. If you do not feel your discipleship a living thing with you, it is because you have carried no cross and gone to no Calvary for Christ. Let us stop trying to be respectable Christians; let us be useful Christians. The soul absorbed in the cares or pleasures of this world is twice housed in clay. We are natural only when we look at the stars and think of God and give ourselves with the most-exacting devotion to the cause of Christ.

Lavish Love.—Love that does not count the cost is the only power that cannot be pushed from its throne. It was the uncalculating love of Jesus which made him the world's Christ. It is the lavish outpouring of love in Francis of Assisi which gave his movement the freshness and the beauty of early Christianity and which endears him to every brother of Jesus Christ. Jesus cares little for our applause; he is waiting for our sacrificial love. It signifies little that a Christian nation opens a market in the Congo; it must open its heart there too. A pauperized community is indifferent to a social survey; it flares with hope at even one brave, strong woman's self-sacrificing Christian love.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. When and where did monasticism get its start?
2. What was the character of early monasticism?

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3. Who was Benedict and what was the nature of his "Rule"?
4. Discuss the government of the monastery.
5. State some of the abuses which developed in the monasteries and nunneries.
6. How did the religious orders go about effecting a reform?
7. Discuss Cluny; the Cistercians; the Trappists.
8. In what sense were the Augustinian Canons a new departure in monastic life?
9. What were the character and influence of the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Augustinian hermits?
10. What was the object of the military orders?
11. Discuss the work done by the "orders of ransom."
12. What spiritual contribution did the monks make to the Kingdom in their day?
13. In what sense were the hospitals, insane asylums, etc., an evidence of the Kingdom's progress?
14. State the value of the spirit of renunciation for Christians of every time.

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A History of the Christian Church, Walker, pages 136-40; 218-25; 245-48; 254-61.
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CHAPTER XX

CRUSADING FOR THE KINGDOM

FROM 1100 to 1500 the Roman Catholic Church sought to extend its interests and what it considered the interests of the kingdom of God by a prolonged series of holy wars. There was scarcely a year during these four centuries when there was not sounded somewhere from Portugal to Palestine the call to take up arms in behalf of Christianity. These wars in behalf of the Cross are called crusades. It is the purpose of this chapter to indicate the rise of this military conception of the Kingdom, to outline the object of the crusades, and to estimate their religious significance.

THE CHURCH OF THE CRUSADES

A Military Society.—From the time of the barbarian invasions until the rise of modern nations the church lived in the midst of continuous wars between petty kingdoms. Feudalism was an armed society and instilled into every aspiring youth the beauty and the honor of war. Church positions came to be filled with men of warlike minds and training. Bishops, archbishops, and abbots, through their proprietorship of lands, were part of the feudal system and therefore stood ready to ride at the head of their armed retainers. The church attempted to regulate the fighting spirit of these centuries but often in vain. The "Truce of God" proclaimed by the church often was broken. The call to arms against heretic and infidel fell in with the spirit of the Middle Ages. The church now sanctioned what it had endeavored to minify and control. The knight could win his way to heaven through a path of blood.

A Religious Society.—The preceding chapter has indicated that the tenth and eleventh centuries experienced a great religious revival in the Cluniac and Cistercian re-

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forms. This religious awakening moved in two directions: The church was to become dominant on earth, and the path to heaven lay through a stern, ascetic life. The crusades, religiously, were the outcome of these monastic reforms. They expressed the passion for a world-conquering Christianity and they utilized the ascetic ideal, in the hardships borne by the crusaders, to reach the positive goal of giving the church a universal empire.

Pilgrimages.—The religious quickening of the eleventh century expressed itself not only in new monastic establishments for the religious but also in pilgrimages to various sacred places, especially for the laity. Pilgrimages were the expression of at least two religious ideas: The labor and sacrifice involved were a form of asceticism and, therefore, a spiritual work; to pray in a sacred place was the way to bring oneself more immediately into contact with the spiritual powers. The church fostered the desire for pilgrimage by imposing it as a penance. There were many places of pilgrimage. Very slight objects made a chapel or a shrine the object of adoration. Wilsnach, in East Prussia, possessed a sacramental wafer that was declared to have preserved a church from being destroyed by fire and at certain times to exude the blood of Christ. The town early became a place of pilgrimage. Pilgrimages did not cease with the crusades but have continued to this day both in the Greek and Latin churches.

Pilgrimages to Jerusalem.—Pilgrimages to Jerusalem began in the second century. By 333 there were enough pilgrimages to the Holy Land to warrant the publication of a guidebook to Palestine. In the first half of the eleventh century the impulse to journey to Jerusalem seized vast multitudes. The movement began among the humble but spread to the well-to-do, nobles, and kings. Even women undertook the pilgrimage. In 1064 seven thousand pilgrims, headed by the archbishop of Mainz, sought the sacred places of the Holy Land. Pilgrimages to Jerusalem came to be required as a penance for great sins. Robert le Diable, of Normandy, who had poisoned his brother, was promised remission of sins through his undertaking to go

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barefooted to Jerusalem. Cure of disease and remission of sins were the leading motives of these journeys. Peter the Venerable in 1145 said that if Antioch fell to the Saracens, the road to Jerusalem would be lost through which innumerable thousands had escaped hell and gained heaven.

Indulgences.—In connection with the pilgrimages there was coming into vogue the substitution of some pious work for a part or the whole of the penance prescribed by a priest in the confessional. The fatigues endured in the pilgrimage entitled the penitent to some diminution of the penance. Pope Urban II, at the Council of Clermont in 1095, to quicken interest in the crusade to the Holy Land, decreed that those who took the cross should be freed from all penance incurred by those who confessed their sins. This is the first example of what is called plenary indulgence. This became the established rule in all crusades. Bernard in his preaching promised full pardon to all who set out for Palestine. He declared that God summoned men to the holy war that he might thus bring them to eternal glory. Later similar indulgences were granted to those who provided substitutes in the wars against the Moslem. Crusaders came also to be released from earthly as well as heavenly justice. By taking the cross they were removed from the ranks of the laity and the jurisdiction of the secular courts. The punishment imposed by the courts of the church were notoriously lax, and many a criminal took the cross to escape the consequences of his ill deeds. The nefarious practices of later popes and bishops to fill their coffers through the sale of indulgences were a primary cause of the Reformation.

Other Causes.—Many other causes played their part in this uprising of the West against the East. The popes were anxious to extend their authority over the Greek Church and to suppress the Moslem. The spirit of adventure appealed to many knights. Princes were anxious to set up states in the East. Many of the oppressed were eager to chance the winning of a better fortune. Genoa and Venice encouraged the crusades in order to extend their shipping interests in the East. The first crusade was largely precipi-

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tated by the appeal of Alexius I, the Greek emperor at Constantinople, to the pope for help to check the Moslem advance in Asia Minor.

CRUSADES AGAINST THE MOSLEMS

Some Results of the Crusades.—While it is customary to speak of seven crusades, it must be remembered that, beginning in 1097, when the armed division of the first crusade crossed into Asia Minor, and continuing two centuries, scarcely a year passed that warriors from the West did not pass to the East to battle with the infidel. These first crusades established four Latin states in the East—Edessa, Antioch, Tripoli, and Jerusalem. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was instituted in 1100 and continued until 1187. From 1187 to 1229 the Christians were shut out of Jerusalem. In 1229 they were granted pilgrim rights in the Holy City, but this privilege ceased in 1244, when Jerusalem was occupied by the Turks.

Taking the Cross.—The following extract taken from *The Deeds of God Wrought by the French*, written by Guilbert of Nogent, who was present at Clermont when Pope Urban preached the first crusade, indicates the spirit that made the crusades possible:

The most excellent man [Urban II] concluded his oration and by the power of the blessed Peter absolved all who had taken the vow to go and by the same apostolic authority confirmed it; and he instituted a sign of this so honorable vow; and as a badge of soldiering or knighthood—or, rather, of being about to soldier for God—he took the mark of the Lord's passion, the figure of a cross, made from material of any kind of cloth and ordered it to be sown upon the tunics of those about to go. But if anyone after receiving this sign or after making open promise should draw back from that good intent by base repenting or through affection for his kin, he ordained that he should be held an outlaw utterly and perpetually unless he turned and set himself again to the neglected performance of his pledge. Furthermore, with terrible anathema he damned all who within the term of three years should dare to do ill to the wives, children, or property of those setting forth on their journey of God.¹

¹ From *The Medieval Mind*, by Taylor, Volume II, page 176, through the courtesy of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

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The Religious Zeal.—Geoffroi de Villehardouin, who took a prominent part in the fourth crusade, which, by unforeseen circumstances, was turned aside from Palestine to attack the Greek Empire at Constantinople, has given us pictures of the religious zeal that inaugurated and sustained the call to arms:

Be it known to you that eleven hundred and ninety-seven years after the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ there was in France a holy man named Fulk of Neuilly—which Neuilly is between Lagnisur-Marne and Paris—and he was priest and held the cure of the village. And this said Fulk began to speak of God throughout the isle of France and the other countries round about; and you must know that by him the Lord wrought many miracles. Be it known to you further that the fame of this holy man spread, that it reached the pope of Rome, Innocent III. The pope sent to France and ordered the right worthy man to preach the cross by his authority. Afterward the pope sent a cardinal of his, Master Peter of Capua, who himself had taken the cross, to proclaim the indulgence of which I now tell you, viz.: that all who should take the cross and serve in the host for one year would be delivered from all sins they had committed and acknowledged in confession. And because this indulgence was so great, the hearts of men were much moved, and many took the cross for the greatness of the pardon.²

The Cruelty of Religious Fervor.—The crusades against the Moslems exhibit scenes of purest chivalry on the part of both Saracen and Christian; but they are marred often by broken treaties and horrible butcheries in the name of religion. The crusaders usually acted on the principle that faith need not be kept with an infidel. It is estimated that seventy thousand Moslems and Jews, including men, women, and children, were killed or tortured to death by the victorious crusaders in the taking of Jerusalem. When the city was at rest from slaughter, the crusaders repaired to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Raymond of Agiles, a French priest and an eyewitness, writes:

When the city was taken, it was worth the whole long labor to witness the devotion of the pilgrims to the sepulcher of the Lord, how they clapped their hands, exulted, and

² *Memoirs of the Crusades*, Everyman's Library, page 1 f.

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sang a new song unto the Lord. For their hearts presented to God, victor and triumphant, vows of praise which they were unable to explain. A new day, new joy and exultation, new and perpetual gladness, the consummation of toil and devotion, drew forth from all new words, new songs. This day, I say, glorious in every age to come, turned all our griefs and toils into joy and exultation.*

CRUSADES AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS

Wars Instigated by the Popes.—For several centuries the Roman papacy was committed to the policy of advancing its temporal interests and securing the unity of the church through the authorization of religious wars against its political enemies and heretics. For nearly two centuries there was scarcely a year that some part of European Christianity was not the object of armed attack instigated by the popes and the more powerful bishops. Men were constantly being slaughtered in the name of Christ, that his gospel might prevail.

Crusades Against Heretics.—The church of the Middle Ages strove to put down every departure from the existent practice, beliefs, or authority of the church. No means were too cruel, no injustice too flagrant, to be used. The first crusade against heretics was proclaimed against the Cathari of southern France in 1179. Two years' indulgence was promised to all who took up arms in the holy cause; those who fell were assured of eternal salvation. Beginning in 1209 there was one long crusade against the Albigenses of the County of Toulouse, continuing for twenty years. An indulgence, the equivalent of the prolonged and hazardous crusade to Palestine, was granted for forty days campaigning in Toulouse. The result was a pitifully impoverished and subjected province of France. Bosnia was laid waste in 1234 by fire and sword by crusaders against the Cathari. The Stedingers, a peasant people of the marshes of the Weser, struggling against the oppressions of church and state, were cruelly exterminated in 1230–34. A half dozen crusades

* From *The Medieval Mind*, by Taylor, Volume I, page 536, through the courtesy of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

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were launched against the Hussites of Bohemia from 1420 to 1431. The land was kept in civil war, and slaughter and cruelty marked the church's efforts to restrain liberty of religious thought.

Crusades to Increase Papal Power.—Crusades against heretics might be justified by prevailing medieval thought; those launched to augment the glory of the pope as a temporal prince could have no justification. Such were the shameful crusades of Innocent IV against Tuscany and Lombardy in 1253. Holy-Land indulgences were granted to the crusaders, and possessors of stolen property were absolved if the value of the property was devoted to the furtherance of the crusade. Similar crusades devastated Viterbo in 1238, Padua in 1256, Naples in 1266, Venice in 1309, and Milan in 1320. Other crusades were let loose against Frederic II in 1241, whom the pope had deposed from the Roman emperorship; against Aix-la-Chapelle in 1248, that William of Holland might be properly coronated in this city in the stead of Frederic II; and against Aragon in 1284 to enable Charles of Anjou to obtain the kingdom of Naples. All these crusades and many more were supported by the most lavish indulgences.

THE MILITARY RELIGIOUS ORDERS

The Crusades Gave Birth to the Religious Military Orders.—They carried to its last meaning that one's soul might be saved in fighting the battles of the cross. The Knights Templars, founded in 1118, are the most famous of these military orders. Bound by the usual monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, they devoted themselves to keeping the pilgrim roads open to Jerusalem. The fame of this order spread rapidly over Europe and drew into it knights of the noblest blood. The order was favored by the popes, and its wealth rapidly increased. Towns and villages, churches and manors, in every country in Europe were given the Templars; and it was undoubtedly due to their wealth and their knights' constantly resorting to the Holy Land that the crusaders in the East held their place so long against the Moslems. The dissolu-

tion of the order is the great crime of the church of the Middle Ages.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

Wars of God and the System of Indulgences.—This lesson is intended not to present a history of the crusades but to indicate their religious significance. Many mingled motives promoted the crusades. But, above all, they were fostered by the papacy and accepted by the people as wars of God. The popes aimed at an extension of their empire, and the crusaders sought salvation in fighting for the cross. These holy wars developed the system of indulgences to such an obnoxious extent that the Reformation may be regarded as the inevitable sequence of the crusades.

Culture, Civilization, and Christianity Cannot Be Propagated by War.—Then, too, the crusades settled, for all who peruse history, that culture, civilization, and Christianity cannot be propagated by war. No genuine conversion to higher civilization can be forced upon a people by the sword. Unfortunately men and nations learn this lesson slowly. In the Great War the old crusader spirit was revived. It failed in Syria six and seven centuries ago; it will fail in China and in Africa to-day. Christianity can win not by glittering bayonet but by the extended, open hand. Christianity is just and righteous comradeship or it is nothing. The crusades mark the turning point in the departure from the Sermon on the Mount. Henceforth all Kingdom movements will be a return to Jesus of Nazareth.

WARS OF GOD

Taking the Cross.—The supreme motive of the attempts to recover the Holy Sepulcher was the conviction that a war against the Moslem was a war of God. When Bernard preached the second crusade in France and Germany he summoned men to purity of life and loyalty to God. At Toulouse, Basle, Constance, Frankfurt, and Cologne, wherever he appeared to the vast audiences that listened to his impassioned plea, Bernard proclaimed repentance and confession as conditions of joining the crusade; and multitudes,

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living in all manner of sin, held up their quivering palms to promise that, through confession and penance, they would enter into holy lives. Every red cross sewn upon the garment of a crusader indicated that he had entered into a new life with God and was accepted as his warrior across the sea.

Crusading for God.—Life ever rises to its noblest when it is solemnly dedicated to battle for God. God's battles never yet have been fully fought. The crusading spirit cannot be lost out of life without disaster. There are great hindrances in the way of Christian triumph, which call for the purest, sternest Christian knighthood. Sometimes these battlefields of cross and crescent are in one's own soul. Far too often are Christian hearts the dark abodes of pride, greed, sensuality: selfishness in some ghoulis form that blackens life. The foul fiends are not easily routed. In the spirit of the crusader who abandons all for the greater glory of conquest across the sea we must learn to leave all the old life in order to live in fullness the life of Christ.

Religious Fervor and Inhumanity.—The crusaders for centuries demonstrated that inhumanity can flourish in the richest soil of religious feeling. Such marriage of ideas was impossible in the soul of Jesus. It must be impossible in us, or else our living will not contribute much to the coming of the Kingdom. Religious fervor must be tested by the sympathy and the justice it prompts. In all our crusades against the world's evils the soldiers of Christ must show no bitterness of spirit, no inhumanity toward the foe. Personal enmities disgrace those who fight the battles of God. Nor must a personal enmity be dignified by calling it a crusade.

The Holy Sepulcher.—The crusaders fought the Moslem that they might weep where Christ died and rejoice where he rose again. Beneath all the passion of that sinful age there was a desire for fellowship with their Redeemer. The evils of the world which summon us to join God's hosts to put them down must not darken our longing to live near the Captain of our salvation. Eager to do the work of God, we must not forget the companionship of God. Social

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service that neglects social fellowship with our heavenly Father eventually drains the fountain of the noble impulses that prompted the heroic service.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. How came the church of the crusades to think their wars those of God?
2. Discuss the value of asceticism, relics, pilgrimages, indulgences.
3. To what extent was the medieval feeling that some hard task should be undertaken by the penitent correct?
4. State some of the material results of the crusades.
5. What excuse can be offered for the wanton slaughter of Moslem and Jewish men, women, and children by the crusaders?
6. What object had the popes in instigating wars against other Christians?
7. What constituted a heretic in the estimation of the church authorities?
8. Against what groups of "heretics" were crusades directed?
9. Discuss the relationship of the crusades to the origin of religious military orders.
10. How far were the ideals of these orders in accord with the teachings of Jesus Christ?
11. To what extent was the Reformation the inevitable sequence of the crusades?
12. Discuss the value of war as a propagator of culture, civilization, and Christianity.

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Count Robert of Paris* and *The Talisman*, Scott.
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God Wills It, Davis, a story of the crusades.
A History of the Christian Church, Walker, pages 238-45.
The Medieval Mind, Taylor, Volume II, pages 535-49.
The Latin Church of the Middle Ages, Lagarde, pages 481-94.
History of the Christian Church, Schaff, Volume V, pages 211-305.
History of Indulgences, Lea, Volume III, pages 152-62.

CHAPTER XXI

DAYBREAK IN DIFFERENT LANDS

THE Reformation was not an unheralded break with the medieval church. Parallel with the development of papal autocracy and priestly corruption arose protesting voices against the existing church, which in course of time were strong enough to lead a revolt against the Roman system. This chapter sets forth the outstanding features of the pre-Reformation church and the labors and influence of certain forerunners of Luther.

THE CHURCH OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The Conception of the Church.—The church, in the days of Wycliffe and Huss, in the minds of the populace consisted of the pope and the cardinals. For the more thoughtful the church was the visible organization of the faithful ruled by the pope and his hierarchy and cardinals, bishops, and priests. This papal kingdom was as well defined as the realm of England, and its ruling body was a self-perpetuating aristocracy. Wycliffe, calling those heretics who hold this view of the church, says, "These heretics understand by the church the pope of Rome and his cardinals, and the multitude of worldly clerks (priests) assenting to his simony and worldly lordship above all kings and emperors of this world." In 1302 Pope Boniface VIII thus stated his conception of the church:

We are obliged to believe and hold that there is one holy catholic and apostolic church; outside of her there is no salvation or remission of sins. That in her and within her power are two swords, we are taught in the Gospels—the spiritual sword and the temporal sword. Both are in the power of the church: the latter to be used for the church, the former by the church: the former by the priest, the latter by princes and kings but at the nod and sufferance of the priest.

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This authority, although it be given to man and though it be exercised by a man, is not a human but a divine power, given by divine word of mouth to Peter and confirmed to Peter and to his successors by Christ himself. Furthermore, that every human creature is subject to the Roman pontiff—this we declare, say, define, and pronounce to be altogether necessary to salvation.¹

The Worldly Lives of the Clergy.—The laity were bound to the church by obedience and by observance of the sacraments. Since the theory of the church held that priests were such by virtue of their ordination and not by the intellectual worth and moral purity of their lives, the most licentious living was compatible with the priestly office.

The Dominican Friars in England in the days of Wycliffe aroused by their idleness and profligacy the deepest antagonism among the people. John Foxe, in his *Book of Martyrs*, preserves "The Ploughman's Complaint," written anonymously about 1360. The taking of vows of celibacy by the priests and their indulging in immorality were the cause of the severest accusations and denunciation, especially as they gave encouragement to the people to follow the example of the priests.

The Friars were the object of severe attacks by Wycliffe. He charges them with hypocrisy, pretending poverty, and soliciting alms that ought to go to the poor. Wycliffe also insists that the Friars, by their cheap pardons, are ruining the moral life of the people:

Friars also be worse enemies and slayers of men's souls than is the cruel fiend of hell himself. For love of a little stinking muck they spare to reprove the cursed sin of the people. For commonly, if there be any cursed juror, extortioner, or adulterer, he will not be shriven at his own curate but go to a flattering Friar that will absolve him falsely for a little money, by year, though he be not in will to make restitution and leave his cursed sin.

The Papal Schism.—The refusal of Urban VI, elected to the papacy in 1378, to remove the papal court to Avignon, in France, resulted in the election of Clement VII. The

¹ The full text of this bull is given by Schaff in *A History of the Christian Church*, Volume V, 2, page 25f.

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Western church, torn by papal dissension for nearly a generation, was compelled to submit to the indecent spectacle of two men claiming the seat of Saint Peter and each unworthy of his vicarage by the foulness of his life. Petrarch, who lived for some time at Avignon and who knew intimately the life of the papal court, declares that the greatest crimes were rife in the households of the highest dignitaries of the church. Although his testimony is trustworthy, it is difficult to conceive the shameful sordidness and sensuality of the lives of those who claimed to be the representatives of Christ.

The Council of Constance, 1414-15.—At this council, where the writings of Wycliffe were condemned, and his bones ordered dug up and burned, and where Huss was burned, the evil lives of the clergy were openly known. The town council stocked the pope's cellar with sixteen casks of good wine. Tournaments, dances, acrobatic shows, and processions entertained the clerical visitors. Seven hundred prostitutes openly practiced their trade in rented rooms. It was a common saying among the Swiss that a generation would not suffice to clean Constance from the sins committed by the council during its session in the city.

A letter from Huss to his Bohemian friends² thus speaks of the council and the forced resignation of Pope John XXIII:

Consider that they have judged their head, their pope, worthy of death for many horrible acts that he had done. I would that in that Council God had said: "He that amongst you is without sin, let him give the sentence against Pope John": then surely they had all gone out of the council house one after another. Why did they bow the knee to him before his fall, kiss his feet, and call him "The most holy father," seeing they saw apparently before that he was a heretic, that he was a man-killer, that he was a wicked sinner, all which things now they have found in him?

Huss is not too severe. In deposing John XXIII the Council of Constance accused him of incest, adultery, de-

² *Book of Martyrs*, Foxe.

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filament, homicide, and atheism, of all of which crimes the pope confessed himself guilty. Yet Pope Martin V created him Dean of the Sacred College.

FORERUNNERS OF THE REFORMATION

The Character of the Revolt.—The Reformation was a political, intellectual, and moral revolt from the tyranny of the medieval church over the souls and bodies of men. The successors of Luther and his collaborators were the greater because other bold men had made similar or partial attempts to inaugurate liberty of conscience and a supremacy of the Scriptures above the decisions of popes. Chief among these heralds of the Reformation were the Waldensians, the Lollards, and the Hussites.

THE WALDENSIANS

The Origin of the Waldensians.—Peter Waldo, in the latter half of the twelfth century, a rich merchant of Lyons, eager to become a true Christian, secured a copy of the Scriptures in the French language of his day. His study convinced him that nowhere was the Christian life that had been commanded by Christ being lived. Selling his property and providing for his family, he set forth to preach the gospel of the New Testament. Men listened to him on the streets, in the fields, and by the roadside. He made disciples among both men and women. These he sent forth as missionaries, who, because the clergy had ceased to preach, found eager listeners everywhere.

The Persecution of Waldo's Disciples.—These Poor Men of Lyons, as they called themselves, in appealing to the Scriptures and in denouncing the sins of the clergy awakened the hostility of the church authorities. By 1190 they taught that Christians need not recognize the authority of the pope; laymen, even women, may preach; God is to be obeyed rather than man; masses, prayers, and alms for the dead avail nothing; prayer in bed, in a stable, or anywhere might be substituted for prayer in church; everyone who led an apostolic life was the successor of the apostles, and, therefore, righteous laymen could exercise all the functions

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of the priesthood. The Waldensians soon were regarded as dangerous heretics and became subjects for the Inquisition. Yet in spite of much persecution they multiplied. They appear in Strassburg in 1212, in Cologne in 1392, in northern Italy during the early thirteenth century, in Pomerania in 1394, and in Bohemia by the middle of the thirteenth century.

The Purity of Their Lives.—The religious teachings of the Waldensians emphasized the moral life. Their lives were in sharpest contrast with the orthodox church. A member of the Inquisition who knew them well says:

They take no pride in their garments, which are neither costly nor vile. They do not engage in trade, to avoid lies and oaths and frauds, but live by their labor as mechanics—their teachers are cobblers. They do not accumulate wealth but are content with necessities. They are chaste and temperate in meat and drink. They do not frequent taverns or dances or other vanities. They restrain themselves from anger. They are always at work: they teach and learn and consequently pray but little. They are to be known by their modesty and precision of speech, avoiding scurrility and detraction and light words and lies and oaths.*

The Forerunners of Huss in Bohemia.—Early in the fourteenth century the Waldensians had a thoroughly organized church in Bohemia. Various efforts were made to suppress them, but Bohemia, with the establishment of its university at Prague, was in a tolerant mood toward religious thought. When the papal indulgence was preached in Prague in 1393 and was publicly denounced, it seems likely that this boldness was the result of generations of Waldensian preaching. Waldensian missionaries of Bohemia spread the sect into Brandenburg, Moravia, Austria, and Hungary. In 1408 Huss interceded for a Waldensian preacher before the Inquisition in Prague, and one of the charges against Huss at Constance was that he favored the Waldensians. After the death of Huss the Waldensians of Dauphine sent funds to the Hussites, whom they regarded as their brethren. Those of the Hussites who called them-

* From *History of the Inquisition*, by Lea, Volume I, page 85, through the courtesy of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

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selves Taborites conformed in most of their positions to the views of the Waldensians and, through the bitter persecutions that scattered them all, retained their close fraternalism.

JOHN WYCLIFFE

The Life and Labors of Wycliffe.—John Wycliffe (1320–84) was the foremost of pre-Reformation leaders. Little is known of his early life. He was at Oxford University between the years of 1356 and 1360, at which latter date he was elected Master of Balliol College. In 1372 he obtained the degree of doctor of divinity and became a lecturer at Oxford. “He was,” writes John Foxe, “a famous divine, a deep schoolman, and expert in all kinds of philosophy.” He was given the rectory of Lutterworth in 1374; and from here, in 1378, Wycliffe began sending forth his “poor priests,” known as the Lollards after his death, to preach, after the manner of Wesley’s itinerants, in the language of the people. Wycliffe wrote many tracts and sermons in English; and these, with the Bible, a translation of which he put into the hands of his followers, became a powerful influence in the reformation of the manners of his countrymen.

The Teaching of Wycliffe.—Wycliffe began his career as a reformer in 1366 by asserting, in reply to a request from the king, that “England is not bound to pay tribute to the pope.” His argument was that the kingdom’s first duty is self-preservation; and that to send moneys across the sea to a foreign prince weakens the state of England. Secondly, he argued that a pope has no claim upon the wealth of England except as alms to be used in works of mercy. But since all church property can be used for charity in England, there is neither need nor sense to send ecclesiastical donations out of the realm. In 1378, impelled by the abuses of the church and stirred by the papal schism, he attacked the foundations of the papacy. Popes are Antichrist. Their evil lives, revealed in greed, lust, cruelty, and autocratic power, release all Christians from obedience. Papal excommunications fall harmless upon true Chris-

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tians. There is no Scriptural authority for any portion of the great papal scheme of empire. The holding of property has degraded the church; therefore, it should pass into the hands of the state. The clergy should be poor, not rich; industrious, not idle; pure in life, not an evil example to their people. They should preach the gospel, teach the people, and place the Scriptures in their hands. During the latter years of his life Wycliffe attacked the many abuses which the church had instituted to maintain its authority: worship of relics, pilgrimages, indulgences, auricular confession, invocation of saints, celibacy of the clergy, and the doctrine of transubstantiation.

The Influence of Wycliffe.—Persecution gradually crushed the Lollards, as the followers of Wycliffe were called, but they were never extinguished. There was an unbroken succession of his disciples until they won their freedom at the Reformation, and both George Fox and John Wesley may be regarded as their spiritual heirs. There came to light in 1530 some tracts that sum up the popular message of the Lollards. The following sentences are typical:

There is no work better than another to please God: to wash dishes and to preach is all one as touching the deed to please God.

Every man is a priest, and we need no other priest to be a mediator.

He that is rich may not use or spend his goods as he will; thy goods belong as well unto the poor as to thee.

A man shall be reprov'd for no other thing at the Day of Judgment but for forgetting the poor.

Men of war are not allowed by the gospel: the gospel knoweth peace and not war.⁴

JOHN HUSS

His Life.—The early years of John Huss resemble in some particulars the boyhood of Martin Luther. His parents were poor, his early years were spent in privation, and he earned his living by menial services and singing in

⁴ From *Studies in Mystical Religion*, by Jones, page 364, through the courtesy of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

churches. His higher studies were pursued at the University of Prague, from which he was graduated a bachelor of arts in 1393 and a master of arts in 1396. He became a lecturer at the university in 1398. In 1401 he was made dean of the faculty of philosophy and was elected rector of the university in 1403. He was ordained priest in 1400 and in 1402 became preacher of the Bethlehem chapel in Prague. He was soon the most forceful and influential preacher of the capital. His career as a reformer developed rapidly. He gradually alienated the majority of his teachers but kept his hold upon the commoners and large numbers of the nobles. Compelled by an interdict laid upon Prague by the pope to withdraw temporarily from the city, he sent forth numerous tracts in Latin and in the Bohemian tongue and composed his chief work, *The Church*. Under the promise of safety from the emperor Sigismund he attended the Council of Constance, where his books were condemned, and he himself refusing to recant, was burned at the stake in 1415. Huss, it seems, never regarded himself as a heretic but held that even by the medieval standard he was a good Catholic.

The Teaching of Huss.—There was close sympathy between the universities of Oxford and Prague. The writings of Wycliffe were brought to Prague and became the subject of lectures at the Bohemian university. The philosophical writings of Wycliffe first attracted the attention of Huss. Gradually he was led to adopt nearly the whole of the English reformer's views, which he proclaimed with great fidelity unto his death. With the exception of Wycliffe's denial of transubstantiation, which view of the Eucharist Huss seems never to have held, he appears to have followed the teaching of Wycliffe summarized above.

The Influence of Huss.—Notwithstanding the efforts of the church to crush Hussitism in Bohemia and the evils arising from the formation of sects among the reformers, as late as 1600 nine tenths of Bohemia and the German provinces of Austria were Protestant. But during the seventeenth century they were practically crushed under the severest persecution. The writings of Huss greatly influ-

enced the thinking of Luther. Some Hussites sent Luther the writings of Huss. After examining them he wrote: "I have hitherto taught and held all the opinions of John Huss unawares; so did John Staupitz; in short, we are all Hussites without knowing it. Paul and Augustine are Hussites to a word."⁵

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

The Awakening.—The church of the Middle Ages journeyed far from the Sermon on the Mount, but even during its sojourn in the prodigal's land there were yearning sons who saw the Father's house across the rough hills of the church's worldly life. These heralds of dawn were more numerous than the worldliness of the church might lead us to suppose, but the ones studied in this lesson are typical of all. It was the immorality of the clergy and the deadening autocracy of the spiritual rulers which finally aroused men's souls.

A New Recognition of the Inner Life.—Since the papacy claimed apostolic origin for its government, these questioners naturally betook themselves to the records of the apostolic age. Here in the Scriptures they found a Christianity utterly at variance with that prevalent in their day. The Christianity of the Gospels fitted in with their needs, and by it they sought to live and to justify their criticisms of the existent ecclesiastical system. But the reforms studied in this chapter were more than a return to the Scriptures: they were a new recognition of the reality and validity of the inner life. It was a new consciousness that Christ dwelt, not primarily in the offices and sacraments of the church, but in the souls of his faithful disciples. Men were discovering anew that God desired to dwell in the life of his children. Their return to the Scriptures was not merely a return to the past: it was a return to the ever-living present of God's fellowship with those who seek him with purity and righteousness of life.

A New Interest in Humanity.—This new revival of true

⁵ Letter to Spalatin, 1520.

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religion led them, as always, to a new interest in humanity. Waldensians, Lollards, and Hussites were all social reformers in a humble way. They were deeply interested in the physical welfare of humble folks. One reason that their movement failed was the appalling indifference of the rich and powerful to the welfare of the peasant and common toiler. The genuineness of these reformers is seen in their social vision, in their sacrifices for the weak, in their denunciations of injustice and inhumanity.

The Reason They Failed.—These reformers failed because the old interests of church and state were yet too firmly intrenched in the seats of power. The reforms lacked the firm leadership of princes who felt that the church was inimical to their interests. This political support Luther was able to command. The Reformation, when it came, largely depended on ambitious political rulers who were glad to avail themselves of the rising tide of religious antagonism to the church.

THE TRIUMPH OF TRUTH

Loyalty to Truth, Not Bigotry.—"Whenever I perceive a sounder reason than the one I was moved by I ever gladly and humbly recede from my former position." So Huss lived. The Council of Constance thought him obstinate and bigoted. He possessed the one open mind among them all. Truth is always determined. The man who knows, knows; who feels sincerely feels powerfully. But he is far more loyal to the passion for truth than to any given truth. For he knows that truth is no static unit. The man who continues to think ever will find himself carrying coffins of things he once thought were true to an intellectual graveyard.

The Test of Truth.—Physical power and multiplied wealth are not complete tests of truth. The medieval church was not true, yet it swayed autocratically the inner life and outward fortunes of men. A strong nation is not necessarily the exponent of the highest civilization. Great wealth is not an absolute credential of great honesty. The test of truth is the richness it brings to the inner life. The

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quickenings sympathy, the developing sense of justice, the increasing longing for purity of heart, the breaking down of prejudice, the enriching of thought, the hunger for God: these are the assurances that men are following the heavenly monitor. Truth is revealed also in every rising up of humanness in the heart. To discover that we are not isolated beings traveling solitary and walled-in highways to the grave but individuals in the midst of innumerable fellows like ourselves, who advance by mutual help, making our uncertain and daring way through the years to the paradise of God—this is to have wedded truth and known the glory of her beauty in the soul.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What conception of the church was held by the common people of the Middle Ages? by thoughtful people?
2. What gave a priest his standing?
3. Discuss Wycliffe's charges against the friars.
4. What caused the papal schism of 1378?
5. State the practical significance of the Council of Constance.
6. Discuss the Waldensians. What caused their persecution?
7. In what way did the teachings of Wycliffe influence his own and succeeding generations?
8. To what extent was intellectual training a factor in the work of Huss?
9. Illustrate the new interest in humanity manifested by the Waldensians, the Lollards, and the Hussites.
10. Why did the forerunners of the Reformation fail?

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CHAPTER XXII

LUTHER AND THE GERMAN REFORMATION

AFTER all the lines of development through the Middle Ages have been traced, after all the labors of the fore-runners of Luther have been duly appreciated, after all the political and economical movements that gave the opportunity for the vision and the passion of the German reformer to succeed, are clearly appreciated, there yet remains to be understood that God raised up in Martin Luther a man who shook the world, and that the Reformation marks a crisis and a new beginning of the world's history.

FROM HUSS TO LUTHER

The State of the Church.—The Council of Constance in 1415 asserted the superiority of a general council of the church over the papacy and arranged for a series of councils to check the papal pretensions and abuses. The Council of Basel in 1431–43 attempted some reforms, but the power of the papacy reasserted itself, and in 1459 Pope Pius II punished as heretics those who were injudicious enough to call for a general council. The character of the popes was unchanged. The deepest crimes were perpetrated by the occupants of the seat of Saint Peter. Popes openly acknowledged their children and advanced them to the highest positions in the church. Licentiousness, treachery, simony, war, and murder befouled the papacy in the latter half of the century that separated Huss and Luther.

The Political Conditions.—The intrigues and the wars of the popes to strengthen themselves as temporal princes emboldened secular princes to withstand their exactions. German princes assembled in a diet at Frankfort in 1456 denied the right of the pope to demand a tithe of the church benefices to finance a crusade against the Turks.

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In 1501 the German states sought to prevent moneys raised by papal indulgences being sent to Rome. During these years there was a constant increase of formulated complaints on the part of German princes against the Roman see. States were becoming aware of national rights and national ambitions. It was this new spirit, constantly growing stronger, which failed Wycliffe and Huss but which stood back of Luther to give opportunity and force to his demands for reform.

The New Learning.—Between 1450 and 1500 a series of events had taken place which did much to emancipate human thought from the old slavery to the schoolmen and the papal authority. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 drove to Italy many Greek scholars, whose presence awakened a new interest in the classical studies of antiquity. During the second half of the fifteenth century printing became common. Fully a hundred thousand copies of the Bible were in circulation in Germany at the beginning of the Reformation. Columbus and many of his imitators had made their voyages. Nine great German universities were founded between 1456 and 1506. Elementary schools were established everywhere. All these changes accustomed men to new ideas. Novelty of thought no longer aroused suspicion and antagonism.

The Rise of the Common Man.—Medieval society recognized three classes of persons: the clergy, the nobles, and the peasants. Changes, due to many causes, were taking place in the latter half of the fifteenth century. The stimulating of the mind awakened the desire for physical comforts. Commerce took on new proportions. Cities began to flourish with manufacture and trade. Wealth began to multiply, not in the hands always of the nobles but in the possession of burghers, or citizens. Money began to talk. Free cities sprang up everywhere, became virtually little republics, and offered the enterprising peasants the chance to escape economic servitude. The merchants began to be the real power of Europe. Prices of commodities rose and wrought hardship upon the humble laborer. The poorer nobles, also suffering from the new economic order, began

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to oppress the peasant farmers. Rents were increased, and ancient privileges curtailed. These harsh conditions aroused the peasantry of Germany to assert their human rights. A new sense of the rights of man was quickened among them. They were ready for armed efforts to secure a better footing in society.

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The Attack on Indulgences.—The match that set the Reformation on fire in Germany was the sale of indulgences. In 1510 Pope Julius II proclaimed a plenary indulgence to secure funds to build the great church of Saint Peter's in Rome. This indulgence was not placed on sale in Germany until 1515, when Albert, archbishop of Mainz, was authorized to market the papal forgiveness and at the same time reimburse himself for the twenty thousand gulden he had paid the pope for his office.

(a) *The preaching of Tetzel.*—The actual conduct of the traffic was in charge of John Tetzel, a Dominican friar who was experienced in such affairs. Tetzel not only preached the indulgence but drew up outlines of sermons for his subordinates. The people were told that every mortal sin (pride, covetousness, lust, anger, gluttony, envy, etc.) was penalized by seven years of penance either on earth or in purgatory; that the indulgences relieved their purchasers from these pains; that friends and relatives should purchase the release of their dead kindred from purgatory; that the living should have in hand a plenary indulgence for themselves to be used at the last hour to ticket their sinful lives safely through to Paradise.

(b) *The protest of Luther.*—Martin Luther, at the time a professor in the University of Wittenberg, was aroused by the coarse manner in which the indulgence mongers preached and by the false conception of indulgences which the people obtained from such preaching. October 31, 1517, Luther attached to the wooden door of the castle church of Wittenberg his famous ninety-five theses, which attacked in a moderate way the system of indulgences. The following are the more revolutionary of these theses:

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Those preachers of indulgences are in error who say that by the pope's indulgences a man is freed from every penalty and saved.

They will be condemned eternally, together with their teachers, who believe themselves sure of their salvation because they have letters of pardon.

Every true Christian, whether living or dead, has part in all the blessings of Christ and in the church: this is granted him by God even without letters of pardon.

Why does not the pope empty purgatory for the sake of holy love and of dire need of the souls that are there if he redeems an infinite number of souls for the sake of miserable money with which to build a church? The former reasons would be most just: the latter is most trivial.

The sympathy of Luther for the peasantry of Germany appears in theses 41-46. The following is characteristic:

Christians are to be taught that he who sees a man in need and passes him by and gives his money for pardons purchases not the indulgences of the pope but the indignation of God.

These theses did not seriously attack the papacy but they expressed the German feeling that a limit should be placed upon the papal greed. The theses were printed and published widely. Germans everywhere began to turn to Luther as the champion of church reform.

The Breach With Rome.—The controversy aroused by the publication of the theses stimulated Luther's study and opened his mind to realize that true religion involved a permanent break with the Roman Church. In 1520 he issued three great pamphlets, with the publication of which the German Reformation was in full swing:

(a) "*An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.*"—This booklet, more than any other single writing of these troubled years, sets forth the mingled motives that led the German people to espouse the Protestant cause. The following paragraphs indicate both the abuses and the reforms which thinking Germans felt most keenly:

The Christian nobility should set itself against the pope as against a common enemy and destroyer of Christendom and should do this for the salvation of the poor souls who must

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go to ruin for his tyranny. They should ordain, order, and decree that henceforth no benefice shall be drawn into the hands of Rome. . . . An imperial law should be issued that no bishop's cloak and no confirmation of any dignity whatsoever shall henceforth be secured from Rome.

Pilgrimages to Rome should be abolished. To restore a true understanding of good works all pilgrimages should be given up; for there is in them nothing good but, on the contrary, numberless occasions for sin.

Monasteries should no more be builded. Would to God they were all done away, or at least given over to two or three orders! Wandering about the land never has brought any good and never will bring any good. It is much more important to consider what the common people need for their salvation than what Saint Francis, Saint Dominic, or Saint Augustine has decreed.

Marriage of clergy.—I advise that henceforth neither at his consecration to the priesthood nor at any other time shall anyone under any circumstances promise the bishop to live in celibacy but shall declare to the bishop that he has no authority to demand such a vow, and that to demand it is the devil's own tyranny.

Canon law.—We could never discover the whole arbitrary will of the pope, which has now become the canon law. The whole canon law from the first letter to the last should be blotted out. The canon law has risen in the devil's name. The Bible contains more than enough directions for our daily living, and so the study of the canon law only stands in the way of the study of the Holy Scriptures.

Economic-social reforms.—The greatest misfortune of the German nation is the traffic in annuities. It has not existed much over a hundred years and yet has already brought almost all princes, cities, endowed institutions, nobles, and their heirs to poverty, misery, and ruin. We must put a bit in the mouth of the Fuggers [a leading banking and commercial company] and similar corporations. How is it possible that in the lifetime of a single man such great possessions, worthy of a king, can be piled up, and yet everything be done legally and according to God's will?

(b) "*The Babylonian Captivity.*"—This pamphlet, published in 1520, marks Luther's final and irreparable break with Rome. In it the reformatory thinking of Luther in the realm of theology reaches its culmination. Luther here discards the seven sacraments of the Roman Church and retains but two—baptism and the Lord's Supper.

(1) *The Lord's Supper.*—Luther teaches that both the

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eucharistic elements, bread and wine, are to be offered to all. He denied the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation: real bread and real wine remain after the elements are consecrated; but Christ's body and blood are there too after the consecration. Their presence cannot be detected by the senses or justified by reason; but since Christ asserted that the bread was his body, and the cup his blood, this real presence of Christ, along with the real bread and real wine, is to be held by faith. The mass, declared Luther, is not a sacrifice. The mass is the promise of Christ that sins shall be forgiven. The mass received by faith vitalizes this promise of Christ. "The whole power of the mass consists in the words of Christ, in which he testifies that the remission of sins is bestowed on all those who believe that his body is given and his blood shed for them."

(2) *Baptism*.—The gist of Luther's position is his effort to restore baptism to its apostolic significance. "The sacraments," he says, "are not fulfilled when they are observed but when they are believed." The act of baptism means nothing unless it "signifies your dying and living again." "Never does baptism lose its power unless you despair and refuse to return to its salvation. You may, indeed, for a season wander from the sign, but that does not make the sign of none effect. You have thus been baptized once in the sacrament but you must be constantly baptized again through faith, you must constantly die, you must constantly live again." For Luther faith in the dying and risen Lord and the act of the Christian dying to sin and rising again to holiness of life constitute the essence of this sacrament. Thus, Luther swept away the Catholic system of penance, quickened faith in the sacrament of baptism, and encouraged renewed efforts to overcome sin by faith in Christ. Luther, while stating that the form of the rite is not essential, prefers immersion. Immersion, he says, brings out the full significance of baptism as the "symbol of death and resurrection." Luther holds to infant baptism. The saving faith, which the sacrament presupposes, is furnished by those who bring the children to baptism.

(c) "*A Treatise on Christian Liberty*."—Such is the title

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of the third of Luther's writings in 1520 which established the standards of German Reformation thoughts. In his treatise the essence of Luther's religious teaching is found. Luther said of this book, "Unless I am deceived, it is the whole of Christian living in a brief form." Luther here expounds his fundamental conviction of salvation: Men are justified before God by faith, and faith alone:

The soul can do without all things except the word of God. The word of God cannot be received and cherished by any works whatever but only by faith. Faith works truth and righteousness if we believe. Faith unites the soul with Christ. It is now impossible that sins should destroy the soul, since they are laid upon Christ and swallowed up in him. Hence, we are all priests and kings in Christ. Every Christian is by faith so exalted above all things that by a spiritual power he is lord of all things without exception. In all things I can find no profit unto salvation, so that the cross and death itself are compelled to serve me and to work together with me for my salvation. We are also priests forever: we are worthy to appear before God to pray for others and to teach one another the things of God.

The Fire at Wittenberg.—Luther was excommunicated in 1520 while these tracts were being written. In some places, in response to the papal bull of excommunication, his books were burned. Luther retaliated by burning the books of canon law, the decretals, and the papal bull that had excommunicated him. The spectacular and heroic scene was enacted in the presence of a multitude near the Church of the Holy Cross outside the walls of Wittenberg. Luther in this daring fashion placed himself at the head of the German Reformation. Single-handed, he defied the powers that had ignominiously scattered the bones of Wycliffe, burned Huss, hanged Savonarola, and for centuries had crushed those who dared to question the authority of the Roman see.

The Diet at Worms.—The writings of Luther, the papal excommunication, and the reformer's bold defiance of papal authority compelled the German Imperial Diet to take action. Luther, under safe conduct of the emperor, was called to Worms in 1521. He obeyed the imperial sum-

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mons although he had before him the fate of Huss. Everywhere on the journey he was treated with honor. When, in the presence of the diet, the papal representatives demanded that he should retract his writings, he said that his writings were of three classes: (1) Those written for the edification of believers, which even his adversaries admitted to be harmless and even useful: he could not retract these. (2) In a second group of writings he had attacked the exactions of the papacy: everyone knew that Germany had been devoured by the greed and the tyranny of the pope. If such writings were denied, papal oppression could be encouraged, and Germany would continue to be ravaged. (3) The third class of writings were against his adversaries: he admitted that at times he had been too violent; but in them he had upheld the doctrine of Christ. "I stand here," he concluded, "ready, if anyone can prove me to have written falsely, to retract my errors and to throw my books into the fire with my own hands. Beware lest if you condemn the divine Word, that Word send forth upon you a deluge of ills. I seek not to offer advice to your high and mighty understandings, but I owe this testimony of a loving heart to my native Germany."

Establishing the Reform Ideas.—It is impossible to mention here all or in any detail the various steps, difficulties, divergences of view, quarrels, and programs by which the Reformation became established in Germany. In the foregoing paragraphs the fundamental Reformation ideas have been given, and the chief services of Luther narrated. In 1530 an attempt was made at the Diet of Augsburg to find a basis upon which Protestants of Germany might remain within the Catholic Church. But the conference availed nothing: the breach was too wide and too deep. There were many difficulties and local problems of church life and administration which needed solution in an establishment of the Lutheran Church. The Augsburg Confession, drawn up in 1530, to present a summary of Reformation belief, was made the basis of a legalization of Protestantism in 1555. Each German state was left to choose between the Catholic and the Lutheran faith, as expressed in the Augs-

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burg Confession. The decision of the prince bound his subjects, but any individual was free to emigrate to find the religion of his choice.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

The Dawn of New Religious Epoch.—It has been said that Luther taught nothing new. This also has been said of Jesus. But the indubitable fact remains that something tremendously new sprang out of their lives. The Reformation was the dawning of a new religious epoch. It swept aside the accumulated hindrances of fellowship between man and God and set the individual face to face with his divine Father to receive forgiveness and to find liberty and gladness of soul. Yet this religious goal would not have been reached in Luther's day more than in the times of Huss had not the majority of the states of Germany seen that it was to their financial and political interest to support the religious reformers. There were many things the Reformation did not settle. No final settlement of the forms and beliefs of the religious life can be settled by any generation. But the reformers did usher in a spirit which has never died. They taught liberty of judgment, and that true religion ever emphasizes the moral life. They substituted the authority of truth for the authority of official fiat and inaugurated the principle that only that is truth which weathers the test of reason and experience.

THE BIBLE IN HUMAN LIFE

The Bible Lights the Path of Progress.—Wherever the darkness of lust and passion has been dispelled, wherever the night of wrong and intrenched abuses has given way to dawn, wherever the mists of ignorance and superstition have lifted, the Bible has thrown its flaring beams against the shadows and ushered in the glorious day. The Scriptures gave us a Paul and Savonarola, a Waldo and Wycliffe, a Huss and Luther, a Carey and Chinese Gordon, a Lincoln and Gladstone, a John Howard and John Brown, a Tennyson and Browning, a Ruskin and Carlyle.

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The Bible has breathed liberty into governments and institutions, has inspired oppressed peoples to win their rights, has taught debased peoples glowing moral ideals, and has given courage to innumerable thousands of lowly men and women to stand steadfastly for truth and righteousness.

The Bible Made the Reformation Possible.—The Reformation was possible because the new interest in learning and the printing press opened the way for the return of the Bible into the homes and the life of the people. Religion made its way into church and state with the Bible. The Bible was rescued from the oblivion into which ignorance had thrust it and brought back again into the life of the people.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What was the nature of the government of the medieval church?
2. State the papal attitude toward civil authority.
3. What effect upon the people had the moral degeneracy of the popes of the fifteenth century?
4. Discuss the attempts made to check papal absolutism.
5. In what way did the growth of nationalism help in effecting the Reformation?
6. Discuss the new intellectual conditions which were preparing the way for the Reformation?
7. What were some of the outstanding social changes of the latter half of the fifteenth century?
8. Discuss the event which precipitated the Reformation career of Martin Luther.
9. What did he urge upon the German nobility? What reforms did he propose in 1520?
10. Discuss Luther's position concerning papal authority; the sacraments; the meaning of religion; the Scriptures; the nature and the results of faith.
11. Why was Luther excommunicated? What service did his theological troubles render the Kingdom?
12. Discuss the formulary of faith which was realized in Germany as the basis of Protestant religion.
13. What are some of the enduring results of the Reformation in Germany?
14. What was the contribution of the political and economic interests of the German states to the Reformation?
15. What value for the future had the rediscovery of the value of the individual?

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CHAPTER XXIII

CALVIN AND THE HUGUENOTS

IN the Reformation men lifted their souls out of the murky atmospheres of moral and political servitude into the blue sky of individuality and spiritual liberty, and the world for the first time began to live. But Luther did not work alone. That princely German did not carry the Reformation further than a giant protest against the corrupt and autocratic medieval church. Had no other torch-bearers of the new life arisen to light the way out of night into day, the ethical and political issues of the Reformation in their larger meaning certainly never would have blessed the world. This chapter depicts the Reformation in Geneva and France and considers the work of Calvin and the hopes and tragedies of the Huguenots. Next to Luther, Calvin is our greatest reformer. His work bridges the centuries and often, even when we are unaware of it, influences us all to-day.

BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE

French Protestants.—The need of church reform was early recognized in France. Jean Gerson and Pierre d'Ailly, at the Council of Constance in 1415, were the leaders of the movement to subject the papacy to general councils. The New Learning was welcomed at Paris and created a new sense of individuality and an atmosphere of unrest. By 1519 Luther's Latin writings were being eagerly read at Paris. In 1523 Lefevre translated the New Testament into French. The bishop of Meaux, influenced by Lefevre, a professor at the University of Paris, gathered about him several preachers, who began to proclaim moderately reformed views, basing their message upon the New Testament. The church, however, began to no-

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tice these innovations, and two men suffered martyrdom in 1525. During the next ten years the Protestant contingent spread, sometimes persecuted, sometimes tolerated. In 1535 a royal edict was published that the heretics were to be exterminated. From this edict begins the emigration of French Protestants, which was to continue more than three centuries. In 1538 the first French Protestant Church was organized by fifteen refugees at Strassburg.

THE FATHER OF FRENCH PROTESTANTISM

John Calvin.—A learned French scholar, leader of the New Learning, about 1532 suddenly determined to join himself to the Protestant cause. He largely prepared an address that his friend Nicholas Cop, the new rector of the University of Paris, delivered in 1533. This address was a defense of the Reformed opinions, especially the doctrine of justification by faith. The authorities were incensed; and to escape punishment Cop fled to Basel, where, somewhat later, Calvin became the outstanding leader of French Protestantism. Two or three years later Calvin was in Geneva, where, much against his desire, he was persuaded to enter publicly as preacher and teacher in the work of applying the reform ideas to the religious and civil life of the city. With the exception of a short residence in Strassburg he remained in Geneva until he died in 1564.

"Institutes of the Christian Religion."—While Calvin was living at Basel he published a defense of the Reformed faith. The persecutions in France, which condemned the Protestants without fair trial, aroused Calvin to protest to the king and attach to protest a statement of the beliefs of the Reformed churches. This work was written when Calvin was twenty-six years old; and although it was several times revised and enlarged, the fundamental positions were unchanged. This statement of Christian doctrine, known as Calvinism, became the basis of the French Protestantism, the Reformed churches in the Netherlands, the Presbyterians in Scotland, England, and America, and the Calvinistic Methodists. The "Institutes" were prefaced by a letter to King Francis—a letter that rightfully has been

called "one of the great epistles of the world." Calvin, although an exile, claims for himself and fellow Protestants a legal place in the state and brands as foulest tyranny the power that condemns them unheard. He tells the king that his first duty is to be just, points out the vicious character of their accusers, and refutes calumnies concerning themselves.

The Theocracy at Geneva.—Calvin gave the modern world its first theocracy. (a) *Geneva.*—One needs to look only at the map of Europe to realize the rare opportunity and destiny of Geneva. It is a gateway of nations. Surrounded by France at the western tip of the crescent lake whose farthest waters lave the feet of the Swiss Alps; midway upon the Rhone, which is a highway to the sea and a path to the heart of Switzerland; in the midst of a plain running to the Rhine, Germany, and the Netherlands, the city is strangely fitted for the guidance of the fortunes of mankind at the dawn of the modern day. The Genevans of old were a cosmopolitan people. Built at the crossing of the routes of trade, the city shared the excellencies and the defects of a mingled race. They were thrifty and energetic in business, diplomats in civic affairs, personally devoted to liberty, and capable of prolonged self-sacrifice.

(b) *The Genevan theocracy.*—In 1536 Calvin, at twenty-eight years of age, came to Geneva and was impressed by Farel, who had brought the Reformation message to the city, to assume the leadership of the Protestant cause. To the end of his life Calvin devoted himself to the creation of a state wherein the divine will was the rule of life. He compelled men by the very grandeur of his intellectual genius, the austerity of his morals, his reliance upon God, and the nobleness of his self-sacrifice to the cause he championed, to believe that every office of government is sacred and exists only for the glory of God. A new Geneva rose under his leadership. Its citizens, indoctrinated by his catechism, taught by the university which he established, morally controlled by the preachers whom he trained, upheld by his conceptions of a spiritual and civil democracy, became a new people. Calvin produced a new force in the

world. The little Protestant state, breathing the Bible in its laws, manners, and institutions, successful in business, maintaining its liberty against strong nations, aware of its moral leadership among the peoples of Europe, became the world's first Puritan commonwealth, whose ideal in every land has been government manifesting the will of God.

(c) *The moral austerity of Calvinism.*—Calvin's theology is built upon the rock of predestination: God's will everywhere rules the world. But Calvin's predestination did not rob man of responsibility; it heightened it and infused it with iron. Calvin is quite modern in his recognition of the social forces, external to the individual, which mass their influences upon him. He saw that at every point the individual is touched by forces he did not make: forces in which the slightest change alters the whole tenor of man's life. But Calvin held that although God shaped the environment of man's life he did not utterly hedge in his creature's choice of good or ill; man's choice ever was a proximate cause in the affairs of life. It was Calvin's clear perception of the wide range of God's ethical demands which gave him such tremendous power. Calvinism saved Europe from the flood of license which the revolt from the medieval church authority naturally engendered. With the passing of the old church order the state alone possessed authority to enforce religious and moral discipline. It is to Calvin's honor that he brought home to the state its obligation of moral discipline.

CALVIN AND THE PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE

A Heroic Church.—The annals of Christianity present no greater persecutions and no greater steadfastness under trial than the wounds and heroism exhibited by the Protestants of France. The early Christians martyrs suffered no greater hardships. More than two hundred thousand Huguenots, from first to last, were tortured and slain, and nearly half a million passed into exile in other lands. Calvin had a great part in disciplining this heroic church.

(a) *The spirit of Calvin.*—Calvin's Deity was the Holy

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One ruling the world with justice and power. Men might rise to fame and fortune, flaunt their uncurbed passions of lust, cruelty, and greed, crush those by exile and death who reproached their libertinage; but such men still must reckon with God. Calvin saw, or believed he saw, as clearly as this world ever has seen, the final act of human history. He saw in his own time a religion of mysteries which reason was to make no attempt to solve; a public worship full of pomp, luxury, and meaningless ceremonies; a clergy commonplace and ignorant, autocratic and indifferent; he saw a nobility and court restless and greedy, full of scandals, brazen in luxury, grounded in despotism, antagonists of justice and liberty. He saw a social order of rapine and cruelty, lust and greed, ignorance and superstition, upheld in the name of Christ by a church from which the spirit of Christ had departed. But Calvin saw more than this: he saw the avenging God ready to strike these blasphemers and traitors with the penalty of their sins. He saw the dawn of a new church and a new state, where morals were pure, where the people selected their ministers and rulers, and where rulers and ministers were the servants of the people. Calvin climbed out of the miasmatic levels of his day into the spiritual uplands. All around him he saw God's mountains lift rugged and stern demands of truth, purity, and holiness, mantled with the rarest colors of content and joy. With this vision in his soul it was easy to subdue the passions, attempt the impossible, scorn the customary prizes, accept the galleys, the hangman, and the fire.

(b) *The spirit of the Huguenots.*—Thus Calvin believed and thus he inspired the men to believe whom he sent forth to preach the gospel. Into France alone there went forth from Geneva during Calvin's life one hundred and sixty-one preachers inspired by his creed, disciplined by his spirit. These men, learned, fearless, saintly, ever cherishing in their soul the cross of Christ, became the founders of the Huguenot church. No heralds of the truth ever have met a more bitter reception. They faced a persecution unparalleled in civilized lands. To fail to reverence a crucifix, to attend a Protestant service, to own a Bible, to be known as

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having come from Geneva, was a sentence of death. But these men knew no flinching and counted it a joy to seal their testimony to Christ with martyrdom. On their way to the stake and even when the flames were curling round their limbs, they refused life and liberty at the price of hearing a mass or kissing the cross. God gave them a vision of the Celestial City.

Church Organization in France.—Protestant churches had been organized at Meaux in 1546 and Nismes in 1547, but both were broken up by persecution. The first permanent organization took place at Paris in 1555. The society was modeled after the church in Strassburg founded by Calvin in 1538. Those who banded themselves together in Christian fellowship chose their pastor and then a council of deacons and elders to assist him in the administration of the church. Other churches rapidly followed, and by 1558 it was estimated that there were three hundred thousand Protestants in France. All these churches followed Calvin's model and were under his supervision. In the face of religious persecution the reform movement spread and won accessions from the highest classes of society. The scattered churches were brought together in a synod held in Paris in 1559. This synod provided for both church government and church doctrine. The individual churches situated near each other were grouped into a council. The councils were grouped into provincial synods, in which each church was equally represented by the clergy and laity. The National Synod was composed of lay and clerical delegates elected by the provincial synods. Thus arose the direct product of Calvin's thought—the Presbyterian form of church government. The confession of faith adopted for the Protestant Church of France at the Synod of 1559 was almost wholly the composition of Calvin.

HUGUENOT TRIALS AND TRIUMPHS

Struggles for Freedom of Worship.—By 1561 there were twenty-one hundred and fifty Huguenot (French Protestant, or Reformed) churches in France. Some of the ablest Frenchmen of the sixteenth century were of their number.

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The Huguenots, to resist persecution, became a political party, and the country for a half century was torn with civil wars. The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew (1572) robbed the Huguenots of their leaders, but the struggle continued until the Edict of Nantes (1598) guaranteed the Protestants political and religious liberty. The Roman Catholics continually protested against the edict, and under Louis XIV it was revoked, and France lost by death and exile nearly half a million of its best citizens. Yet the Huguenots were not utterly crushed. They held their services in secret. Pastors, making light of death, returned from exile to comfort and sustain the harried churches. The galleys were filled by the faithful, who were discovered from time to time. The history of the Huguenots is the history of a church that refused to die. Even when Louis XIV thought they were utterly crushed, the churches began to multiply. Due largely to the zeal of LaFayette, their civil rights were restored in 1787, and in 1789 their liberty of worship was granted them. There are more than half a million spiritual descendants of Calvin in France at the present time.

Huguenot Migrations.—Other nations may bless Louis XIV for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Although emigration was forbidden under penalty of the gallows, multiplied thousands of French Protestants made their way into other lands. They were welcomed almost everywhere. They introduced new manufacturing industries into north Germany. They built up a suburb of London. They furnished regiments of soldiers to the Prince of Orange. They founded a colony at the Cape of Good Hope. They founded many a prosperous business in Massachusetts. The Huguenots poured thousands into the Carolinas, settled entire villages, and mingled their fortunes and their blood in the American War of Independence. Faneuil Hall was given to Boston by a Huguenot; Bowdoin College bears a Huguenot name and was made possible by Huguenot money. Oberlin College perpetuates the name of a beloved Huguenot minister. Two of the five commissioners who negotiated the treaty with England which se-

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cured American independence, John Jay and Henry Laurens, were Huguenots. Truly French Protestantism, out of the deepest suffering, has enriched the world.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

Puritanism the Permanent Result of Luther's Work.—The Reformation, breaking up the old order of church government, theology, and morals, in Luther's day did not erect a new order upon the newly won liberty. That emergence from chaos into ordered liberty of church and state was the accomplishment of the Puritans of France, England, and the New World. The Huguenots, the Puritans of France, were the crystal fountains of new life whose refreshing streams might have transformed into a paradise the barren waste of French government, art, education, and morals; but those currents of ethical power were despised and harassed through a century and a half by Romanist bigotry and absolutism until they were deflected from their natural courses to fertilize with their idealism the industry and political institutions of other lands.

Calvin's Vision a Source of Power.—The source of Puritan civilization is not Wittenberg but Geneva; not Luther but Calvin. The church, by its lust and politics, its indifference to the deadly bondage, its eagerness for gain had imposed upon men's souls, no longer led men who dared to think, to honor God. It is Calvin's greatness that he voiced the majesty and authority of the living God in a dying age and arrested by the overwhelming grandeur of his convictions the process of decay in western Europe. He tore away the dead institutionalism that the church had built between man and his Maker and taught men to stand humbly but confidently in the presence of their Creator. No other reformer flashed the eternal glory of God so brilliantly upon the sinful life of men. He brought home to men the supreme imperative: the subordination of the wish of the hour to the claims of eternity. Above all kings, emperors, and dignitaries of the church he saw the sovereign Lord of earth and heaven, whose will the rebel-

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lions princes of the world cannot withstand. Above all the voices of luxury, power, lust, and expediency he heard the word of the Eternal go forth that men must be just and righteous, stern warriors against the corrupting sins of a polluted and depraved world.

Calvin's Influence in the Affairs of Men.—It has fallen to the lot of no churchman to surpass Calvin in the magnitude of his influence in the affairs of men. It seems incredible that, even by the sheer weight of his powerful genius, he should have been able to shape so extensively the free institutions of the modern world. His letters went to the nobility, the prime ministers, and the kings of several lands, to the foremost reformers of every city, to the most inconspicuous martyr whose last earthly hours he could comfort and encourage. He won Geneva's freedom, indoctrinated Switzerland, gave the Huguenot church to France, liberated the Netherlands from Spain, set up the Reformation in Scotland, loomed larger than Cromwell in England's Puritanism, taught the Pilgrims to face the wintry seas and trust themselves to the Western world, wrote martyrdom into the soul of Protestantism, gave the Presbyterian doctrines and church government to many lands, and lives in the Huguenot contribution of industry, education, and morality to their adopted fatherlands. "No one who ever followed his counsel went wrong," wrote Beza, who succeeded him at Geneva. Calvin and the Huguenots proved the happy and natural union of patriotism, industry, and liberty with the sternest morality and most exalted religious convictions.

THE PRESENCE OF GOD

Man's Lowliness.—Paul, Augustine, and Calvin lived by an abounding vision of God, the mighty Sovereign of the world. Beside the ineffable glory of his wisdom and power the life of man seemed puny and vain. Of what goodness can man boast beside the dazzling purity of God? How can he pride himself in freedom when his liberty leads him into lust and greed? How can he stand unabashed before a

Being whose laws he has trampled in the mire? Verily he can claim no mercy, demand nothing from the Deity whose unworthy creature he is.

Man's Greatness.—But lo! Men become conscious of the infinite grace of God in their lives. He has chosen them to be his servants, his ministers, his sons. The humbled, cowed, groveling creature stands erect: the divine mercy has made him a man: God has created him his vicegerent in this wicked world. The Puritan is born. The Huguenot arrives. Calvin speaks, and martyrs for the cause of God are branded, tortured, burned. Knox reforms Scotland. Bunyan travels to the Celestial City. Blind Milton writes a drama of the universe. Cromwell creates an original commonwealth. The Pilgrims land at Plymouth Rock. Iron is poured into the blood of the Western world. Its power still lives.

Theocratic Government.—This is the world's supreme need: government in which those who are exalted to authority see beyond the political expediency of the hour the will of the eternal God to be wrought out in life. To see no higher goal than commercial ends in government is the stupid path to ruin. The world is full of the wrecks of material selfishness. But what explains the Huguenots? What furnished them their strange strength? What enabled them to cling so passionately to their goal? They saw God, they were upheld by God. They had received God's commission to erect a righteous social order on earth. They were kept by this vision of government existing to fulfill the pleasure of the Most High.

The World's Debt to Calvin.—We Methodists could not worship without him. We have not followed his theology but we are his debtors for more than we know. His idealism is in our blood. God summoning men to righteousness was his creed, and for this creed he labored with a martyr's soul until he died. With every acceptance of duty, with every rush of repentant shame, with every lifting of the soul to God and sterner resolve to do his will, we are the inheritors of the truths he championed: truths that have filtered through our English institutions and ideals

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and in our soberer hours summon us with strange, irresistible power.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What is the relation of the Scriptures to the reform movements thus far stated?
2. Contrast Calvin's use of the Bible with the use made of it by Waldo and Wycliffe.
3. To what extent was the revival of preaching based on the Scriptures?
4. Discuss the life of John Calvin.
5. In what ways was he the father of French Protestantism?
6. To what extent did Calvin make a great contribution to Protestantism with (a) his theology, (b) his emphasis upon education, (c) his moral sternness?
7. How are the convictions of Calvin seen in (a) his correspondence with other reformers, (b) his training of Huguenot preachers, (c) his gift of the Presbyterian form of government to the church?
8. Discuss the first permanent church organization of Paris.
9. In what struggles for freedom of worship did the Huguenots participate?
10. Discuss the Huguenot migrations and the influence they had on the lands to which these people went.
11. State the advance that Calvin's reform made over that of Luther.

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CHAPTER XXIV

THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH REFORMATION

THE Reformation in England and Scotland, though it followed paths beaten for it by the reformers of Germany and Switzerland, is an exceedingly important Kingdom movement. It gave liberty of conscience, democratic government, and church creeds and government to the vast English-speaking world. The establishment of the Reformation in Zurich, in Norway and Sweden, in Denmark and the Netherlands, though an important contribution to modern civilization, lies sufficiently outside of the main currents of the Reformation to be neglected by the brief treatment here possible.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND

Factors in the Revolt From Rome.—(a) *The Lollards.*—It will be recalled from Chapter XXI that the followers of Wycliffe, called Lollards, were subject to great persecutions. Although driven to cover they were not utterly crushed. In country districts, among the humbler classes in towns, and occasionally in higher ranks the spirit of Wycliffe lived in the objections that images were idols, and that prayers to saints and pilgrimages were gross abuses, and in the belief that the Scriptures are the sole rule of faith. Many manuscript copies of Wycliffe's Bible, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, now extant, evidence that the book was cherished in secret and read in danger. In spite of the danger and the fact that during the fifteenth century many were imprisoned for life for possessing and reading the Bible the sacred writings were prized by great numbers. Sometimes a little company would sit the night through listening to some trained reader. A load of hay frequently was given for a

few chapters of James or of Paul. The entire Bible, though costing two hundred dollars, was owned by many. Among the poor some with excellent memories committed parts of the Scripture to memory, and such were in frequent demand to recite their memorized Bible to little circles of the humble.

(b) *The New Learning*.—The awakened interest in classical studies in England primarily became a study of the Greek New Testament and a new zeal for religious education. Several new colleges at the universities were founded, that the new studies might be pursued. Colet lectured on Paul's Epistles in Greek at Oxford and later in London. He set forth in these lectures the doctrine of justification by faith. Erasmus, professor of Greek at Cambridge, published a critical edition of the New Testament. Sir Thomas More embodied some of the new religious views in his *Utopia*. Thomas Wolsey, prime minister of Henry VIII, encouraged the teaching of Greek, endowed the education of the clergy, founded Christ Church College at Oxford, and sought to reform the church along these educational lines. All these efforts were accustoming the people to the reception of new ideas. Luther's writings by 1521 were well known in the English universities and did much to quicken the hostility to the papacy.

(c) *The English Bible*.—The gradual change of the English language from the time of Wycliffe to the Reformation period necessitated a new translation of the Scriptures. The invention of the printing press made the project a possible success. Although it was still an offense punishable by death at the stake to possess the Scriptures in the language of the people, there were not lacking men who risked life to place the Bible in the homes of England. The foremost of these was William Tyndale.

William Tyndale.—As early as 1521, when a tutor in an English family, Tyndale was disputing with a priest who declared, "We were better without God's law than the pope's." Tyndale was roused to defy the pope and all his works and ended his retort by exclaiming: "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the

plow shall know more of the Scriptures than thou dost.”¹ Tyndale clung to his resolve, but there was no place in England where he could set about his task. He reached Hamburg in 1524 and there undertook the translation of the New Testament. Financial support for the enterprise came from Humphrey Monmouth, a merchant of London. In 1525 Tyndale was in Cologne, secretly engaged in getting his New Testament printed. Before the printing was completed, he was betrayed to the authorities; but he escaped to Worms, carrying with him the partly printed copies. From this city, in 1526, six thousand copies of the New Testament were smuggled into England. English bishops made every effort to suppress these books. They were bought and burned, but the money received enabled Tyndale to issue a better edition. Twice was he able to print revisions of the New Testament, and in 1530 a translation of the Pentateuch came from the press. While living at Antwerp in 1535 he was betrayed to the authorities. He was imprisoned in Vilvorde Castle, near Brussels, where he continued his translation of the Old Testament as far as 2 Chronicles. After sixteen months he was condemned to death. He was strangled, and his body was burned.

Tyndale's Work Lives On.—Tyndale might be strangled by an ignorant and blind church, but his work could not be silenced. The printing press and the eagerness of the people to read the Bible in their spoken tongue were forces before which bishops and princes were powerless. Tyndale more than any other person gave the characteristic shape to our English Bible. Even in the Revised Version of 1881 80 per cent of the words stand precisely as they did in Tyndale's version of 1525. Many of the beautiful phrases now so familiar come from him; for example, “In him we live and move and have our being”; “turned to flight the armies of the aliens”; “singing and making melody in your hearts.”

Miles Coverdale.—Coverdale, an Augustinian friar, in 1528 preached a sermon that was regarded as heretical.

¹ *History of the English Bible*, Brown, page 39.

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Discarding the habit of his order, he fled to the continent, where, apparently, he assisted Tyndale with the publication of the Pentateuch. Tyndale succeeded in publishing of the Old Testament only the Pentateuch and Jonah. From 1530 to 1535 Coverdale was somewhere on the continent translating and seeing through the press the entire Bible. A revised edition was printed two years later. In the meanwhile a changed attitude toward the Bible in English had taken place in England. It was seen that the English Bible could not be suppressed; and, consequently, the church authorities were ready to approve a copy that was free from the objectionable glosses of Tyndale and Coverdale. In 1537 the so-called "Matthew's Bible," substantially a combination of Tyndale's and Coverdale's translations, appeared and was permitted to circulate freely. In 1539 the "Great Bible," a revision of Matthew's Bible, made by Coverdale, was printed and ordered by royal authority to be placed in every church of the realm, where it was freely to be read by all.

Henry VIII.—It is one of the strange facts of history that the most powerful factor in England's revolt from Rome was a tyrannic king inspired by the basest of motives. Henry did two valuable services for the English Reformation: He favored the heretics. In advancing bishops like Cranmer and Latimer he was favoring beliefs that would undermine the authority of Rome. In other ways he protected men who spoke openly against the evils in the church. But even this service was a part of his greater service in freeing England from the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope. This attitude to the Reformation and his momentous break with Rome were chiefly inspired in Henry by his passion for Anne Boleyn. In order to wed Anne, Henry sought a divorce from his wife Catherine. The long delay of the papal court to decide the suit led Henry to renounce papal jurisdiction. He declared himself head of the English Church and won his divorce in the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The parliament (1529-36), packed and skillfully managed, responded to all the king's demands. The king was declared "The

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Supreme Head of the Church on Earth of the Church of England." Various acts were passed which centered church government in England in the crown. Men who resisted the usurpation were burned or beheaded. The monasteries, the chief upholders of papal supremacy, were suppressed, and their revenues alienated from the church by the king.

THE EXTENT OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

Under Henry.—The church under Henry did not greatly differ from the church that recognized the papal supremacy. The immediate act and results of the separation effected by the king were not a reformation at all. During the whole of his reign Henry adhered rather closely to the doctrines of the medieval church. Some of the more outstanding abuses were discarded. Purgatory and indulgences, images and relics, and pilgrimages were excluded. But the doctrines of transubstantiation, celibacy of clergy, auricular confession, private masses, and the withholding of the cup from the laity were retained. Any denial or violation of these things was punishable by death. The chief reform service rendered by Henry was the authorization of the Bible in the English language.

Under Edward VI (1547-53).—The Council of Regency, which ruled England in the name of the boy king, was more favorable to reform than Henry had been. Preaching was encouraged. Prayer books in English were authorized. The second prayer book of 1552, with some modifications, is the present prayer book of the Church of England. Forty-two articles of religion stated the doctrines held. These in the reign of Elizabeth were reduced to thirty-nine, which are still held by the established church.

Under Mary (1553-58).—Queen Mary was a Roman Catholic, and everything in her power was done to check the Reformation. All the reforming legislation was revoked. The English Church was again united to Rome. Persecution of Protestants was severe. Nearly three hundred were burned. Among them were Bishops Ridley and Latimer and Archbishop Cranmer. Many fled from England to

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find refuge at Geneva and other Protestant cities of the continent.

ECCLESIASTICS AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

Thomas Cranmer.—The story of the English revolt from Rome would be incomplete without some mention of the chief ecclesiastic in this stormy period. It was Cranmer who enabled Henry VIII to divorce Queen Catherine. By an unworthy subserviency he weathered the tyranny of his royal master, remained in office through Edward VI's reign, and was burned as a heretic under Mary. It fell to Cranmer to carry out the changes in the church which the break with Rome involved. Cranmer encouraged the use of the English Bible and compiled nearly the whole of the two prayer books. The forty-two articles of religion owe their form and style almost entirely to Cranmer.

The Litany.—The beautiful Litany of the prayer book, still in use, is the language of Cranmer. The following sections indicate its spirit:

We sinners do beseech thee that it may please thee to give us an heart to love and fear thee, and diligently to live after thy commandments:

That it may please thee to strengthen such as do stand; and to comfort and help the weak-hearted; and to raise up those who fall; and finally to beat down Satan under our feet:

That it may please thee to give us true repentance; to forgive us all our sins, negligences, and ignorance; and to endue us with the grace of thy Holy Spirit to amend our lives according to thy holy words.

Cranmer's Martyrdom.—Under Queen Mary, Cranmer was deposed and sentenced to death. His prominent part in the divorce trial of Mary's mother, Queen Catharine, and his leadership of the Reformation condemned him to death. Before his sentence, induced by hopes of pardon, Cranmer professed the Roman faith; but in his last hours he bitterly repented his weakness and, to indicate this, of his own accord thrust his right hand, which had written his denial of the reformed faith, into the fire and held it there until burned. Cranmer has been called the most mysteri-

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ous figure of the Reformation. He was the tool of Henry VIII but he favored the Reformation of the church and by his death confirmed in men's minds that beneath all his political subserviency there was indeed the brave soul of the reformer.

THE REFORMATION OF SCOTLAND

Before Knox.—From Chapter XVIII it will be recalled that the Celtic monasteries of Ireland and Scotland were seats of learning. This educational spirit never wholly perished. In the fourteenth century Scottish students were at Oxford, where the influence of Wycliffe was most intense. They became imbued with the Lollard ideas, and these views lived on into the Reformation. In 1494 thirty persons were summoned before King James IV for holding heretical opinions. They were known as the "Lollards of Kyle." Hussite doctrines also made their way into Scotland. Paul Cracaw, a Bohemian, was condemned to the fire in 1431. Lutheran writings reached the east coast towns by 1525, in which year the importation of such books was forbidden by Parliament. Tyndale's New Testament also found eager purchasers. From 1525 to 1542 heretics multiplied rapidly, and many executions took place.

Under the Guidance of John Knox.—Knox was easily the foremost leader of the Scottish Reformation. It is impossible to overestimate his services to the Protestant cause. Without him the reformers of Scotland scarcely could have succeeded.

(a) *Early services (1542-54).*—The infant Mary, Queen of Scots, entered into her rights to the Scottish throne in 1542. Henry VIII, wishing to alienate Scotland from French influence, proposed a marriage of alliance between Edward VI and the infant queen. Those who were favoring the Reformation favored the treaty with England. The English party in Scotland at first prevailed. But the Catholics and French sympathizers soon got the upper hand, and the treaties with England were revoked. Mary was sent to France to be educated, and persecution of heretics was renewed. John Knox, a priest, thirty-two

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years of age, accompanied George Wishart in preaching tours, which ended in the latter's death at the stake in 1546. The reformers, to avenge his death, seized the Castle of Saint Andrews and put Cardinal Beaton, head of the Catholic party, to death. Knox, with many others, repaired to Saint Andrews, where Protestant services were established, and where Knox soon was induced to undertake preaching. In 1457 the French, to put down the Reformation, attacked Saint Andrews, captured the place, and, treacherously refusing to carry out the terms of surrender, sent most of the prisoners to the galleys. After nineteen months of inferno Knox, with the others, was released. During the next five years Knox was a minister in Berwick, New Castle, and London.

(b) *Knox at Geneva (1554-58)*.—These years abroad are summarized by Knox himself in his *History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*. Knox left England at the accession of Queen Mary:

When the said John left England he then passed to Geneva and there remained at his privy study till that he was called by the English congregation that then was assembled at Frankfort to be preacher to them; which vocation he obeyed, albeit unwillingly, at the command of that notable servant of God, John Calvin; at Frankfort he remained till that some of the learned, whose names we suppress, more given to unprofitable ceremonies than to sincerity of religion, began to quarrel with the said John. The magistrate, perceiving their malice, gave advertisement secretly to him to depart their city; for they could not save him if he were required by the emperor or the queen of England in the emperor's name. And so the said John returned to Geneva.

Knox returned to Scotland in 1555 for a brief visit. Then the English church at Geneva called him to be their minister. Here Knox remained until 1556, when he was summoned home by several of the Scottish nobility to lead them in the establishment of the Reformation.

THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION ACCOMPLISHED

The Church Organized (1558).—In 1557 the Protestants of Scotland banded themselves together to further the in-

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terests of the Reformation. These Covenanters came to be called the "Lords of the Congregation." It was this confederacy which summoned Knox from Geneva. In 1558 the Congregation decided upon an organization for the Protestant churches of Scotland. Elders were chosen by election of the people. To these elders all promised obedience. The Congregation petitioned the crown for liberty of worship in the newly forming churches. This was granted except in the cities of Leith and Edinburgh.

The Armed Defense of the Protestant Faith.—This was determined upon by the Lords of the Congregation in 1559. It was resolved to maintain public worship according to the reformed faith in all towns where the Protestants were in the majority and to suppress the old church order in such communities. The regent and her Catholic supporters, assisted by the French troops, more than checked the reformers. Knox saw the necessity of alliance with England. An English fleet and navy compelled France to withdraw from Scotland. The Reformation had won. The Estates in 1560 voted that "the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction nor authority in this realm in times coming."

The Confession of Faith.—Knox and five companions prepared a statement of Protestant belief which was adopted by the Scottish Parliament in 1560. It expresses the beliefs dominant at Geneva. A constitution for the Reformed church was prepared by the same men. The church life was to be controlled and guided similarly to the methods adopted by the Protestants of France. Calvin's catechism was used to instruct the youth. Although there were still some stormy scenes with Mary, Queen of Scots, by 1560 the Reformation in Scotland was thoroughly established. There remained only the task of clarifying and establishing the regulations reached by 1560 and the training and disciplining of a ministry for the churches.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

The English Reformation Political.—While there were reformers in England at the time who desired the correction of church abuses and the establishment of the Protest-

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ant doctrines and theology, the nation as a whole sought no such changes. The Reformation in England was not religious but political. It was brought about by an immoral tyrant who broke with Rome to pursue his passions unhindered. Yet, evil as were Henry's motives and reprehensible his conduct, his break with Rome worked for good. For the papacy, for any ecclesiastical system, to possess supreme authority among a people in the modern world is an evil thing. The powerful, self-willed king wrought a good work for his realm and for the English-speaking world.

The Bible and Liturgy.—The English Reformation greatly set forward the kingdom of God by giving to the English peoples the Scriptures in their own tongue. The student must be deeply impressed by this time that every purification of religion has been wrought by a return to the Scriptures. Tyndale, Coverdale, and Cranmer have won an imperishable place in the world's history.

The Reformation in Scotland Calvinistic.—It set up in that kingdom the Calvinistic doctrines and church government. Presbyterianism, fashioned by Knox and his fellow reformers, has been a powerful moral force in English civilization. Knox's interviews with his queen evidence the intense democracy that the reformed faith everywhere awakened.

THE GOSPEL TRANSLATED

Good Lives Immortal.—Wycliffe's bones and books were burned, but his English Bible provoked a rebellion from Rome. Huss was burned, but his followers brought nearer the Scottish Reformation. Savonarola was quenched, but Dean Colet came from Italy to proclaim at Oxford that men are justified before God by faith. Tyndale was burned, but his vigorous English was followed by the American revisers. Coverdale was exiled, but his Psalms are in the prayer book. Cranmer died in flames, but his Litany has voiced the need of God in the lives of millions of his countrymen. Fire never stifles the truth; it purifies and immortalizes it. No good deed drops dead in the soil of

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human life. It lives and brings new goodness to harvest. Live good, true, brave lives; and no matter how much you now seem lonely and unknown, your pure living makes the Kingdom draw near. Other men on this earth shall praise you, and your eternal reward is sure.

The Wrath of Men.—"The fierceness of man shall turn to thy praise" is Coverdale's translation of the tenth verse of the seventy-sixth Psalm. Could he have been thinking of Henry VIII? God surely rules his world. This king broke with Rome to make an immoral marriage. He was a tyrant who bent his generation to his will. Yet God turned his willfulness into good for England. How helpless evil eventually becomes! Nero set up tarred Christians to illumine his gardens, but the light of their martyrdom flares in our souls. Jesus was crucified, but he passed from Calvary to his throne.

A New Translation of the Scriptures.—The Scriptures must be translated out of the language of admiration into the language of daily thinking and doing. No enduring civilization will rise upon our crumbling materialism until the gospel is enthroned in life. The change from selfish to fraternal ideals and practices in commercial and civic affairs will be empowered alone by the loftier experiences of religion. When we begin to seek God we turn with new zest to the Bible. Although the Scriptures do not reveal the whole will of God they show the way to God. They recount the struggle through which men have passed to know God and the martyrdoms suffered to keep their high vision of holy fellowship. They present an ideal estimate of life, indicate the desirable goals, and give permanent value to those spiritual promptings which protest against the slavery of the physical world. It is not enough to speak the name of Christ reverently; nothing less than the reproduction of the spirit of Christ will save the world.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. Consider whether the New Learning and the English Bible would have worked a reformation in England apart from Henry VIII.

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2. Men like Colet, Cardinal Wolsey, Erasmus, and Sir Thomas More hoped that the New Learning would reform the church without a break with Rome: why were such hopes doomed to disappointment?

3. Consider whether even the powerful Henry could have renounced papal supremacy apart from the influences of Lollardy, the New Learning, and the circulation of the Bible and other literature antagonistic to Rome.

4. What reforms in the church were tolerated by King Henry?

5. In what distinct way does the English Reformation differ from the Reformation in other lands?

6. Estimate the services of Cranmer to the church.

7. Why was Queen Mary unable permanently to check the English Reformation?

8. Trace the various influences that prepared Scotland for the Reformation.

9. What influences prepared Knox to become the chief reformer of Scotland?

10. What were his chief services to his native land?

11. What forms of doctrine and government were taken by Protestantism in Scotland?

12. What services were rendered to the Scottish reformers by England?

13. Why should the state, and not the church, possess the supreme authority?

14. Had a Henry VIII sat on the French throne in the early sixteenth century, what possible different destiny might have come to the Huguenots?

15. What persons do you consider to have contributed most to the Reformation in England and Scotland?

16. What contribution has been made to the Kingdom by the Scottish Reformation?

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CHAPTER XXV

THE PURITAN IN ENGLAND

PURITANISM embraces both an attitude of religion and a political theory. In religion it is not to be identified with a particular form of church government: Puritans were found among the Episcopalians but they for the most part adhered to the Presbyterian or Congregational forms of the government of the church. In doctrines they were usually Calvinists. They might be members of Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist, Anabaptist, or Quaker Church societies. Politically they favored the rights and liberties of the people and opposed the encroachments of royal authority.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH PURITANISM

The Influence of Calvin.—During Queen Mary's reign those who had been prominent in the reform of the church and who would not belie their beliefs fled to the continent. There, especially in Geneva, they responded sympathetically to the doctrines and church government of Calvin. When Elizabeth came to the throne, these exiles returned home.

Church Reforms.—Parliament restored to the crown the authority over the church exercised by Henry VIII. The prayer book of 1552, with some revisions, was ordered used in the churches. This book enjoined the use of certain vestments and ceremonies. The returned reformers objected to these things. Likewise, they favored a stricter moral life and a correction of church abuses. The queen and her nobles were impoverishing the church; bishops and parish ministers were not adequately cared for. These men, who had learned the excellence of the presbyterial church rule, now steadily advocated this form of church government for England. Ministers with these views met in conferences, called "prophesyings," to quicken within themselves a

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deeper spiritual life. These and other manifestations of ultra reform were checked toward the end of Elizabeth's reign.

THE CHIEF ECCLESIASTICAL FORMS OF PURITANISM

Presbyterianism.—The various Parliamentary acts under Elizabeth deprived many ministers of their churches. During 1567–68 congregations were organized on the Genevan plan under the guidance of some of the suspended ministers. In 1571 Parliament recognized the orders of clergymen who had not been episcopally ordained. The first Presbytery in England was organized in 1572. From 1574 most of the Protestant nonconformists strove steadily to introduce Presbyterianism. During the reigns of James I and Charles I, Presbyterianism became the dominant ecclesiastical expression of Puritanism. In 1643 Parliament suppressed the episcopal form of church government and in 1646 established Presbyterianism. In 1643 Parliament called together a number of ministers, two from each county, to advise the government on church affairs. Those favoring Presbyterianism predominated in this assembly. They issued a confession of faith known as the Westminster Confession, a Directory for the Guidance of Public Worship, and a Catechism. The Confession of Faith and the Catechism have been the standards of belief for Presbyterianism in all English-speaking lands. All churches of Anglo-Saxon peoples, except the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal, are debtors in their forms of public worship to the Directory of 1643. Presbyterianism never has been truly congenial to England. From the beginning of the eighteenth century English Presbyterianism for the most part became Unitarian in doctrine and Congregational in government. The membership of the Presbyterian Churches of England now is mostly Scotch.

Congregationalism.—In 1570 the Congregational ideal of church government was expressed in a manifesto *The True Marks of a Christian Church*: Essential Congregationalism, pure Christian fellowship and moral life, require separation from the established church. Those who

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held this view were called separatists. Robert Browne, 1580, defined the separatist, or Congregational, belief. The church, he held, is a group of persons who have definitely entered into a covenant with God and with each other to live according to Christ's gospel: every church member is a spiritual person who partakes of the office of king, priest, and prophet. Such a community of spiritual persons is warranted by their divine inspiration to choose ministers and other church officers; the government has no authority to rule the inner life of the church. Congregational churches were first organized in London in 1586. Persecution followed, and they passed over to Amsterdam. The Congregationalists of Scrooby and Gainsborough exiled themselves to Holland. The Scrooby church moved to Leiden in 1609. From this city the Pilgrims set forth in 1620 to the New World. Congregationalism was favored by Cromwell but was persecuted under later sovereigns. But it has continued and, reënforced with new evangelistic spirit by early Methodism, has entered with new power into the modern day.

THE RELIGIOUS AND MORAL CONVICTIONS OF PURITANISM

Followers of Calvin.—The Puritan, of whatever denomination, was a Calvinist in theology and in the austerity of his morals. Authority in religion rested in the Scriptures. Nothing they did not prescribe could he tolerate. His opponents claimed that a church could authorize forms, ceremonies, and offices that were not forbidden by the Scriptures. The Puritan, moved by an overwhelming sense of the judgment and of the glories of heaven, emphasized a stern repression of sensual delights. Bunyan, in one of his scenes in the Interpreter's House, expresses the spirit with which Puritanism viewed the things of the world:

The Interpreter took him by the hand and led him into a little room, where sat two little children, each one in his chair. The name of the eldest was Passion, and the name of the other Patience. Passion seemed to be much discontented, but Patience was very quiet. Then Christian asked, "What is the reason of the discontent of Passion?" The Interpreter answered, "The governor of them would have him stay for

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his best things till the beginning of next year, but he will have all now; but Patience is willing to wait." Then I saw that one came to Passion, one brought him a bag of treasures and poured it down at his feet: the which he took up and rejoiced therein and withal laughed Patience to scorn. But I beheld but a while, and he had lavished all away and had nothing left him but rags.

The Puritans Stern Moralists.—The heroic mold in which Puritanism cast its people is seen in the words of William Bradford, governor of Plymouth, who at thirteen years of age renounced the established church, saying to his relatives: "To keep a good conscience and walk in such a way as God has prescribed in his Word is a thing which I must prefer above you all and above life itself. Yes, I am not only willing to part with everything that is dear to me in this world for this cause, but I am so thankful that God hath given me a heart so to do and will accept me so to suffer for him."¹

POLITICAL PURITANISM

The Development of a Puritan Party.—The Reformation was a new emphasis of the individual, and this emphasis in civil life was an awakening democracy. Parallel with the development of the Reformed faith in England arose men who contended for the constitutional rights and liberties of the people against the encroachments of the crown. During the reign of Elizabeth men with Puritan beliefs were returned to Parliament, and this element in the House of Commons repeatedly introduced measures to curb the royal authority in ecclesiastical affairs. During the reign of James I the Commons became increasingly Puritan. Upon the basis of the somewhat democratic life of the Middle Ages the sovereigns of various nations were building up an absolutism, claiming to rule by divine authority. In England the sovereign appointed the bishops, who in turn defended the absolutism of the king. With the established church on the side of absolutism the English gentry more and more accepted the Puritan views to resist more solidly the royal encroachment upon their liberties.

¹ Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, page 6.

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The Rise of the Independents.—As late as 1641 most of those who were ranging themselves against the royal absolutism and the Episcopal Church, which favored the king, supported the movement toward Presbyterian church government. But the Presbyterians, with increase of power, were adverse to all forms of worship except their own. The Congregationalists, Baptists, Anabaptists, and others were seeking liberty of worship, and there was formed a political party known as Independents, who, advocating no established form of Puritan worship, still were struggling for civil and religious liberty. Among the early Independents were Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane, and John Milton. These men contended that any individual or group of persons should have the right to worship according to their beliefs. When the civil war began between the parliamentary army and the king, the Presbyterians began to favor Charles I and were bargaining with him to seat him again on the throne. Under the leadership of Cromwell the Independents expelled the Presbyterians from Parliament; and Cromwell, supported by the Independents, assumed the government of England. Presbyterianism and Congregationalism express distinct types of Puritan church government, while Presbyterians and Independents stand for two opposing conceptions of the relation of church and state and two factions of political Puritanism in the times of Charles I and Cromwell.

TYPICAL PURITANS

Oliver Cromwell.—The outstanding political figure of Puritanism is Oliver Cromwell. He and his place in England are the expansion of a larger Calvin and Genevan state. Cromwell disciplined his army, won his battles, sent Charles I to the block, and ruled well-nigh autocratically in England; and these acts were the expressions of the conviction that he was the instrument of the Most High in the setting up of a new life order among the English people. Cromwell's labors seem canceled by the restoration of the monarchy and the episcopacy under Charles II; but out of Cromwell's wars and reign two fundamental prin-

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ciples of Protestantism, which had not yet been truly expressed, struggled out of the medieval darkness into the modern day. These principles are toleration and the church free from state control. Despite all reaction English civilization never again returned to the absolutism of Charles I.

John Milton.—Next to Cromwell the triumph of English Puritanism owes most to John Milton. Milton was the foremost scholar of his day, and not only was his great genius at the disposal of Cromwell in affairs of state but in his poetry he is representative of English Puritanism. In 1641 Milton, in his tract *Of Reformations Concerning Church Discipline*, appealed to his countrymen to put an end to episcopacy and all attendant practices that still related the Church of England to Rome. Two weeks after Charles I was beheaded, Milton sent forth his printed message *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, in which he contends that it is the duty of any who have the power to crush a tyrant. Henceforth he was a needed man in the commonwealth. He became Latin Secretary in 1641, and thereafter Cromwell looked to him not only to conduct the correspondence with other nations but for every sort of literary help which his genius could give the commonwealth.

Milton's Puritanism.—Milton's Puritanism was more radical and liberal than the views held by other leaders of his day. He disapproved of any form of established church. Pure Christianity, he thought, could not flourish with a state-paid clergy; the extension of the gospel should be left to churches and their voluntarily chosen and supported pastors. Milton's Puritan doctrine was a modified Calvinism. For him, as for Calvin, God is all in all, and the most terrible evil that befalls man is to be separated from God. But Milton saw wider ranges in man's freedom and responsibility and more reality in the offer of Christ's redemption.

The Puritan Attitude Toward English Episcopacy.—The following quotation from *Of Reformations Touching Church Discipline in England* illustrates both Milton's

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prose style and the Puritan feeling toward English episcopacy:

Thou, therefore, that sittest in light and glory, Parent of Angels and Men, look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring church; leave her not thus a prey to these importunate wolves, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender Flock, these wild Boars that have broke into thy Vineyard and left the print of their polluting hoofs on the Souls of thy Servants. Oh, let them not bring about their damned designs, that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless pit expecting the Watchword to open and let out those dreadful Locusts and Scorpions to reinvolve us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness where we shall never more hear the Bird of the Morning sing.

Milton's Modified Calvinism.—The following lines from *Paradise Lost* indicate something of Milton's modified Calvinism. The Father is here speaking to the Son, while Satan is on his journey to earth to seduce man. Milton contends for man's full free will:

"So will fall
He and his faithless progeny. Whose fault?
Whose but his own? Ingrate, he had of me
All he could have; I made him just and right,
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall."²

Milton contends that those who will may be saved. Yet even his genius was not able to perfectly harmonize the irreconcilable conceptions of man's free will and God's predestinating choice for his creatures:

"Man shall not quite be lost, but saved who will;
Yet not of will in him, but grace in me
Freely vouchsafed. . . .
Some I have chosen of peculiar grace,
Elect above the rest; so is my will:
The rest shall hear me call and oft be warned
Their sinful state, and to appease betimes
The incensed Deity, while offered grace
Invites. . . .
They who neglected and scorn shall never taste;
But hard be hardened, blind be blinded more,
That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;
And none but such from mercy I exclude."²

² Book III.

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John Bunyan.—The Puritanism of the common people appears in Bunyan. The terrible mental stress through which Calvinism might lead morally earnest men to the peaceful assurance of their election is seen in the author of *Grace Abounding* and *Pilgrim's Progress*. Bunyan served in the parliamentary army and was thoroughly committed to the Puritan cause. He became a preacher of the Baptist Church, was sent to the Bedford jail, wrote his immortal allegory, was liberated by Cromwell's tolerancy, and traveled widely preaching and exhorting the churches. He was lovingly called "Bishop" Bunyan. His *Pilgrim's Progress* has been called "the fine flower of Puritan theology and experience."

Bunyan's Writings.—The splendor of *Pilgrim's Progress* has obscured Bunyan's *Holy War*, the world's second greatest allegory. Consider the rare imagery and popular appeal in Bunyan's putting of certain Puritan beliefs:

In this gallant Country of Universe is a fair and delicate town called Mansoul. . . . There was reared up in the midst of this town a most famous and stately Palace: for strength it might be called a Castle; for pleasantness, a Paradise. This place King Shaddai intended but for himself alone. . . . The wall of the Town was well built—yea, so fast and firm was it knit and compact together that, had it not been for the townsmen themselves, it could not have been shaken or broken forever.

It will be a rare delight for any who will follow Bunyan in his description of the surrender of the town to Giant Diabolus and the evils that followed, the assault of the city by Prince Emanuel, and the eternal alliance of this Prince with the citizens of Mansoul by which their safety and peace are secured. His *Pilgrim's Progress* is a book to be read by all. One can never forget it. It lights up our own pilgrimage to the Celestial City. The Puritan theology that inspired it may no longer appeal to us, but it will set us traveling along the great highroad of true living with new hope and strength beating in our souls.

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

What Did the Puritan Accomplish?—The Puritan trans-

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formed the political reformation under the English sovereigns into a religious quickening of English life. He vitalized in England the best of the Reformation wrought out on the Continent. He became the mouthpiece of Calvin to the English-speaking world. He separated church and state and introduced religious toleration. He gave new force to several fundamental Christian ideas—an emphasis that has not disappeared from the world.

Ancient Teaching Vitalized.—The Puritan awoke in England a new consciousness of God. He became a new reality to vast multitudes: a divine Sovereign whose almighty will, disobeyed, wrought endless disaster among men. Sin ceased to be a light word. It meant alienation from God, ruin and vast despair, a slavery whose chains only God himself could break. Justice, righteousness, and purity were given new content and reality. Men felt within them the grand and irresistible spirit of God giving them power to attack evil victoriously. If any men ever have felt God within them, the Puritans did.

The Puritan Influence.—Puritanism as a political power did not long endure. Its religious spirit and moral convictions continue in large measure with us. Puritanism, transplanted to New England, shaped in great measure American institutions. In education, church forms, moral convictions, and religious beliefs American Protestantism owes much to the men whom Cromwell once led to set up in England what the Puritan believed to be a government of God.

THE CALL OF GOD

Called of God.—The soul of the Puritan was fashioned by the conviction that God had spoken to him and assigned him his task. So Cromwell believed in the execution of the king. So Milton in his blindness strove to figure forth the wars of earth and paradise. So Bunyan held as he lay dreaming in Bedford jail. The triumph of such men does not depend on the task of which they feel themselves summoned. Men often mistake the end of a journey. It is not the goal that counts in the building of character;

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it is the acceptance of commissions, duties, and tasks as coming from God. It is the obedience to such call at any personal sacrifice which builds the world. The voice of God ever is calling men and women. That others have misunderstood his will is no excuse for delay or disobedience. We are not to be judged by future centuries but by our own. Hell is the issue not of ignorance but of unapplied wisdom.

Do Not Shrink From Difficulty.—You have the Puritan's heroism within you. Deep in your soul, an elemental part of your being, lies the power to fling yourself at the hazard of life into the championship of a great cause. You may subvert this strength of devotion to business, social pleasures, the cultivation of popularity, or the pursuit of fashions of food and dress. But to do such things will keep you in the ranks of the commonplace world. If you go about the world seeking easy things to do, you will find them; but when you find them you will have lost the greatness out of your own soul. Study any great life and you will find that it is in difficulties, in struggles, in the fronting of perils, in the drive ahead into ghastly possibilities, in the forward look with spirit unafraid, that the great souls have been formed.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What circumstances led to the introduction of Calvin's views into England?
2. What form of church government was advocated by Calvin?
3. What were the objections of those Englishmen who came under Calvin's influence to the Church of England during the reign of Elizabeth?
4. What was the Puritan attitude toward the Scriptures?
5. What were his characteristic views of God? sin? his attitude toward the outward things of life?
6. What forms of church government did he advocate?
7. What Puritan views were expressed in *Paradise Lost*?
8. What was Bunyan's great service to the Puritan cause?
9. What conditions compelled the Puritans to form a political party?
10. What services were rendered the Puritan cause by

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political Presbyterianism? by the Independents? In what way could Milton and Cromwell justify the execution of Charles I?

11. To what extent did the political ascendancy of Puritanism contribute to the coming of the Kingdom?

12. The Puritan, especially the Congregationalists, contended for the separation of church and state. Has this separation made for the coming of the Kingdom?

13. Consider to what extent the Puritan's aversion to liturgy and vestments still appears in the churches. Has this rejection of ceremonial advanced or hindered the progress of Christianity?

14. What was wrong with the Puritan Sabbath? In what way could we improve our observance of Sunday?

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CHAPTER XXVI

THE PROTESTANT AND THE ROMAN-CATHOLIC IDEAL

IN this chapter are presented a summary of the beliefs, spirit, and purposes, so far as they can be generally characterized, which animated the Protestant world at the close of the Reformation period; the efforts within the Roman Catholic Church to reform its life and preserve its powers; and a sketch of the spirit of this church at the threshold of the twentieth century. Such a study points out the wide chasm between Protestantism and Romanism and indicates the field wherein Kingdom movements may be expected.

THE PROTESTANT IDEAL

Emphasis Upon Moral Living.—The Protestant spirit in every case was awakened by the moral laxity of the church. It was the sexual immorality of the clergy, the universal graft in connection with offices in the church, the supernatural claims of the priesthood, coupled with arrogance, ignorance, drunkenness, cruelty, and other forms of worldliness which became the starting point of all the reformers. Waldo was possessed by the belief that the Christian must reproduce the moral life of Christ; Wycliffe was aroused by the avarice, the hypocrisy, the lust, and the shallow conception of sin which prevailed in the mendicant orders; Luther was aroused by the papal greed that turned the deep mysteries of forgiveness into brazen commercialism; Calvin, Knox, and the Puritans were unbending moralists. Protestantism brought home to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the fact that religion cannot be divorced from morals. This high moral fervor ever has been characteristic of the Protestant churches. Individual

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purity of life and social reform are outstanding characteristics of the Protestant ideal.

The Sacred Scriptures.—The moral passion that revolted against the decadent church life of the Reformation centuries returned with new interest and confidence to the Bible. It was the effort of the reformers, by a return to the source of Christianity, to justify their condemnation of the prevalent church life. Everywhere they encouraged the use of the Scriptures and appealed to them as the highest authority to which bishops and princes must yield. Wycliffe translated the Bible into English; Luther gave them to his humblest countrymen; Calvin turned to them to defy his king and to construct his theology; Knox launched the Scottish Reformation by appeal to the Scriptures; and the Puritans built their commonwealth upon that foundation. The Bible was given a place such as it never before had held in the church. It, instead of the pope, became the final authority for vast multitudes of once faithful subjects of the Romish hierarchy.

The Essence of Religion.—In the medieval church the essence of religion was obedience to the constituted religious authorities. The layman had no direct dealings with God. He was not expected to confess his sins to his heavenly Father nor to live by any precious consciousness of fellowship with him. Religion was mediated to him by the priest. The return to the Scriptures was encouraged by and in return gave new emphasis to the feeling that man, as man, is a member of the family of God; and that, as a follower of Christ, he may make his way directly to God to find the forgiveness and to enjoy the fellowship of his Father. All the reformers put aside priestly mediation; they considered the church of God to be a democratic commonwealth and not an aristocracy or a monarchy. The reformers ushered in a new day for the common man. Henceforth religion for the thoughtful and the courageous could be no more an unthinking subserviency to sacred persons, ceremonies, and mysteries, but a joyous and dutiful fellowship of children with their Father in heaven.

The Nature of the Church.—The conception of the

PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC IDEAL

church and its relation to the kingdom of God which in general characterizes the Protestant world is a total break with the medieval church and is irreconcilable with modern Roman-Catholic teaching. The reformers, in emphasizing moral living and justification before God by faith in his merciful promises and gracious nature, gave expression to three revolutionary ideas of the church:

(a) *The membership of the church.*—The church previous to the Reformation often meant no more than the pope and the hierarchy of priests subordinate to him. In its widest meaning it included those who acknowledged the papal authority. The reformers broke with this external delimitation of the church. Luther defines the church as follows: "I believe that there is on earth, through the whole wide world, no more than one holy, common Christian church, which is nothing else than a congregation, or assembly, of the saints—that is, the pious, believing men on earth—which is gathered, preserved, and ruled by the Holy Spirit and daily increased by means of the sacraments and the Word of God."¹ Here are to be found two conceptions of the church wholly at variance with the Roman position: Church membership is defined (1) by relation to God, and not by relation to any human being; (2) by piety of life, and not by a political relationship. These principles were characteristic of all the reformers. This was the position of Calvin and the Presbyterians and the various separatists of England.

(b) *Government of the church.*—All the reformers broke with the papal absolutism; but Luther and the majority of the English reformers merely substituted the state for the papacy. Yet Luther, in doing so, did not carry out to logical conclusion the principles he had enunciated; it remained for Calvin, Knox, and the various Separatists of England to insist that the authority of the church was resident in the Christian congregation itself. Early English Congregationalism taught that all persons who worshiped God in accord with the Scriptures were spiritually minded,

¹ *Works*, Volume II, page 373.

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and, when such were gathered into congregations, their collective spiritual life constituted a church and warranted them to choose such officers and establish such discipline as was needful to further true religion. The logical conclusion of the Reformation is a democratic church life, whether such life is administered under episcopal, presbyterial, or congregational forms.

(c) *The sacraments*.—The medieval church ascribed to the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper a value wholly independent of the mind and heart of the recipient. They were efficacious works performed by the priest. The Eucharist was a sacrifice; the real flesh and blood of Christ were offered anew in every mass by the priest for the forgiveness of sins. These views were mechanical, unscriptural, unreasonable, and unrelated to life. While the reformers differed in their views in some particulars, they agreed that the efficacy of the sacrament depended on the faith and life of the recipient. "To seek the efficacy of the sacrament apart from faith is to labor in vain and to find damnation." This word of Luther's is the constant Protestant note with all the reformers.

THE IDEAL OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Counter Reformation.—There were many earnest advocates of church reform who did not unite themselves with the great Reformation movement which gave to the world the Protestant churches. The success of the Reformation in wresting vast multitudes from the Roman Church aroused even the most stupid among the Catholics to see the necessity of doing something to prevent the entire ancient system from going to pieces. This effort to reform the Roman Catholic Church from within is termed the Counter Reformation.

(a) *Early efforts at reform*.—The spirit of the Roman-Catholic reformers is fully seen in the changes accomplished in the church in Spain. The prolonged strife with the Moors so strengthened civil rulers that the ecclesiastical authorities ever were subordinated to the state. Ferdinand and Isabella, responding to the widespread feeling that

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the church should be reformed, set about to purge from the Spanish Church those evils which were the common scandal of Christendom. Ximenes, a Franciscan monk, was given authority by the sovereigns to carry out his plan of reform. He visited the monasteries and established in them the strictest discipline. The priests in charge of parishes were admonished or removed until a clergy was obtained free from moral blame. Utterly ignorant priests were deprived of their benefices; schools of theology were established; scholars were called to new chairs in old universities; and the whole moral life of the Spanish Church was aroused to finer achievements. But there was no break with the theology or the institutions of the medieval church.

(b) *The Council of Trent*.—It was this Spanish conception of a reformation—the reform of morals within the old institutionalism and creeds—which prompted and carried through the Council of Trent. This council was convened by the pope in Trent, Austria, in 1545 and continued, with several interruptions, until 1563. The chief concern of the council was to determine more rigidly and authoritatively those doctrines of the medieval church which had been attacked by the Protestants. The supreme effort was made to yield nothing to Protestant theology and “to emerge from the purgatory of the council as far as possible unchanged—that is, having all its customs, practices, pretensions, and sins.”

The Tridentine Faith.—The Council of Trent prepared the way for the Profession of the Tridentine Faith, published in 1564 and made obligatory upon all Roman Catholics. The following articles, chosen from the twelve that constituted this creed, indicate its spirit. This creed is still binding upon all members of the Roman Church:

(a) *Concerning the Scriptures*.—It will be noted that the article strikes at the Protestant contention that the Bible should be freely interpreted and read by every Christian. Article III:

I also admit the Holy Scriptures according to that sense which our Holy Mother Church has held, and does hold, to which it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpreta-

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tion of the Scriptures; neither will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

(b) *The church*.—The authoritative Roman creed makes no change in the medieval conception of the church. The church in Rome is “mistress of all churches,” and the Roman Church is essentially the pope himself. Membership in the church is not denoted by piety of life, nor by the individual’s relation to God. Article X:

I acknowledge the holy catholic apostolic Roman Church as the mother and mistress of all churches and I promise and swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome as the successor of Saint Peter, prince of the apostles, and as the vicar of Christ.

(c) *The sacraments*.—The Protestant attack upon the sacraments made no change in the official Roman position. The seven sacraments—baptism, confirmation, Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy orders, and matrimony—were retained, and their efficacy assigned to priestly mediation. The Eucharist is defined as a sacrifice, and it is affirmed that the priest in his celebration of the mass transforms wine and bread into blood and body of Christ. Article VI:

I profess that in the mass there is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there is truly and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a change of the whole essence of the bread into the body and of the whole essence of the wine into the blood.

(d) *Purgatory*.—No change was made in the medieval conception of purgatory. The length of stay in purgatory depends on the number of masses said for the individual by the living (Article VIII). Prayers to saints are authorized and recommended (Article VIII). Relics of the saints are to be venerated (Article VIII). Idolatry is retained in the church. Article IX:

I most firmly assert that the images of Christ and of the perpetual Virgin, the Mother of God, and also of other saints

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ought to be had and retained, and that due honor and veneration are to be given them.

In spite of all abuses of indulgences and the fact that the scandals in connection with them precipitated the Reformation, and contrary to all historical fact, the creed, Article IX, asserts:

I also affirm that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.

(e) *The church and the Kingdom.*—This creed identifies the Roman Catholic Church with the kingdom of God on earth. Compare with Luther's definition of the church these words from Article XII:

I do at this present freely profess and truly hold this true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved.

Papal Infallibility.—While the supreme authority of the Roman bishop over all other bishops had been the contention of the popes for centuries, and while this position of the papacy was tacitly admitted in the Council of Trent, it was not until the Vatican Council of 1870 that the popes were in position to have this contention written into the constitution of the Roman Church. It was now decreed that the pope, in faith, morals, and in disciplining power, is the infallible teacher and supreme ruler of the Christian world:

(a) *Supreme ruler.*—Part of the decree reads as follows:

We teach and declare that, by the appointment of our Lord, the Roman Church possesses a superiority of ordinary power over all other churches, and that this power of jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, which is truly episcopal, is immediate; to which all, of whatever rite and dignity . . . are bound to submit not only in matters which belong to faith and morals but also in those that appertain to the discipline and government of the church throughout the world . . . This is the teaching of Catholic truth, from which no man can deviate without loss of faith and salvation.

(b) *Infallible teacher.*—The words of the decree which define this dogma run:

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We teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed that the Roman pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when in discharge of the office of pastor and doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the universal church—by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that his church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals.

(c) *Facing the past.*—The spirit of the Roman-Catholic ideal is expressed in one of the sentences of this decree:

For the Holy Spirit was not promised to the successors of Peter, that by his revelation they might make known new doctrine but by his assistance they might inviolably keep and faithfully expound the revelation or deposit of faith delivered through the apostles.

It is a sad thing to face the past alone, especially when such extravagant and unhistorical claims are made of the past as appear in other words of this same decree:

This see of holy Peter remains ever free from all blemish or error, according to the divine promise of the Lord our Saviour made to the prince of his disciples: "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not; and when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren."

SUMMARY: THE COMING KINGDOM

The Past.—To which does the past belong—Protestantism or Roman Catholicism? Which group of churchmen have more largely contributed to the betterment of the world—the reformers or those who assembled in the Council of Trent? Who have voiced more clearly the moral virtues, individual freedom, democratic life, life's deep obligation to God? Who have supported more warmly the movement of social and political reform? Who have possessed the open mind, the fuller sympathy, the greater unselfish love? While Protestantism does not possess the whole of the religious triumphs of the past four centuries, a glance at the Catholic and Protestant countries shows which ideal has infused the more wholesome spirit into life.

The Future.—To whom does the future belong? The

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Roman Church, in contrasting itself with Protestantism, boasts unity of life and harmony and positiveness of teaching; but Protestantism, though broken up into far too many sects, has experienced the deeper life. Religion has been the expression of a profounder experience. A survey of any Romanist community reveals that religion does not, despite all its apparent devotion, touch so deeply the inner springs of life. It is quite compatible with indifference to moral progress, to political integrity, to social reform, to intellectual honesty. The religion of the future will need to articulate most intimately with the whole of life. As the two great branches of Christendom now stand, the future lies almost wholly with Protestantism. Its life runs nearer the social passions. Its vision is closer to the spiritual desires of Christ.

THE APPEAL TO REASON

The Dignity of the Individual.—The Reformation awakened in the church a new and powerful sense of sin. It was a moral reaction against the profligacy of medieval Christianity. Protestantism in the realm of morals said to men and women, "You are too great to sin." In the realm of piety it said, "You need no priestly mediator." In the realm of intellect it said, "Subject all religious dogmas to the reason." "Come now, let us reason together" is ever God's invitation to man. God invites men into the noblest intellectual heights to behold his face. No great Christianity can arise wherever the masses of the church are forbidden or refuse to think deeply upon questions of religion.

The Message of the Prophets.—The prophetic message was an appeal to the reason. It lifted religion above an unmeaning circle of sacrifice into an ethical life. It proclaimed that God cared infinitely more for justice, truth, and loving obedience of all the moral impulses than he did for the priestly spilling of the blood of cattle. "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit." The scarlet sins that defiled life—pride, selfishness, and lust—no unthinking ritual could atone. Only as man sought their death in a

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genuine moral fellowship with God could such evils be washed away.

The Protestant Spirit.—Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Knox appeal to the reason. "Come now, let us reason together" was their invitation to the Romanist world. Calvin's appeal to Francis I is typical of the aim of the great reformers to bring the church of their day to the bar of reason and of their belief that religion would emerge from that fiery bath a purer gold. It was the elevation of religion into the thought world which made possible the triumphs of the Reformation.

Righteousness the Evidence of Mentality.—Shallow and careless thinking never deals adequately with sin. Macbeth learned that passion and pleasure through all our yesterdays "have lighted fools the way to dusky death." The sinner lacks imagination. He has no eye for the invisible, no ear for the whispers of the spirit. Wickedness never imposes on thoughtful men its brazen crowns as golden coronals. Crude religion and professed irreligion alike are the children of shallow thinking. Opposition to Christian missions, indifference to social reforms, discouragement in the face of greed, failure to tramp devotedly every trail of moral progress: these are to live within narrow horizons. Righteousness is the mark of a great mind.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

1. What was the essence of religion according to the great Hebrew prophets? Consider to what extent Protestantism and Roman Catholicism express their views.

2. Where were the sympathies of Jesus: with the priestly or the prophetic conceptions of religion? What resemblances may be found between the priests of the Old Testament and the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church?

3. Compare the Roman Catholic and the Protestant attitude toward the Bible. What is the source of religious authority for each?

4. What are the distinguishing marks of the Protestant conception of the church?

5. What was the immediate effect of the Protestant Reformation upon the Roman Church?

6. Discuss the Catholic and Protestant views of the sacrament. What is the dogma of transubstantiation?

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7. Can the Roman teaching concerning saints, relics, and images be reconciled with the first commandment?

8. What makes the dogma of papal infallibility obnoxious to Protestants? Why is it acceptable to Catholics?

9. Which of these two great groups of Christians show the greater missionary zeal? interest in moral reforms? in education? in church loyalty? Which exhibits the greater democracy in church life?

10. Name the outstanding services rendered the world by Protestantism; by the Catholic Church.

11. Why are you a Protestant? What do you see in Roman Catholicism to admire?

12. What effects have the divisions of Protestantism upon the Christianizing of the social order? To what extent will greater church unity among Protestants hasten the coming of the Kingdom?

13. What is the probability that Romanism and Protestantism may be united again in one church?

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